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PROCEEDINGS

OF

THE MEETING

OF THE

LOYAL WOMEN OF THE REPUBLIC,

HELD IN

NEW YORK, MAY 14, 1863.

NEW YORK:
PHAIR & CO., PRINTERS, No. 11 FRANKFORT ST.
1863.

ADDRESS

OF

MRS. ELIZABETH CADY STANTON

TO THE

WOMEN OF THE REPUBLIC.

(From the N. Y. Tribune.)

When our leading journals, orators, and brave men from the battle-field complain that Northern women feel no enthusiasm in the war, the time has come for us to speak—to pledge ourselves loyal to freedom and our country.

Thus far, there has been no united public expression from the women of the North as to the policy of the war. Here and there one has spoken and written nobly. Many have vied with each other in acts of generosity and self-sacrifice for the sick and wounded in camp and hospital. But we have, as yet, no means of judging how and where the majority of Northern women stand.

If it be true, that at this hour the women of the South are more devoted to their cause than we to ours, the fact lies here. They see and feel the horrors of the war; the foe is at their firesides; while we, in peace and plenty, live and move as heretofore. There is an inspiration, too, in a definite purpose, be it good or bad. The women of the South know what their sons are fighting for. The women of the North do not. They appreciate the blessings of slavery; we do not the blessings of liberty. We have never yet realized the glory of those institutions in whose defense it is the high privilege of our sires and sons, this day, to bleed and die. They are aristocrats, with a lower class, servile and obsequious, intrenched in feudal homes. We are aristocrats under protest, who must go abroad to indulge our tastes, and enjoy in foreign

despotisms the courts and customs which the genius of a republic repudiates and condemns.

But, from the beginning of the Government, there have been women among us who, with the mother of the immortal John Quincy Adams, have lamented the inconsistencies of our theory and practice, and demanded for ALL the people the exercise of those rights that belong to every citizen of a republic.

The women of a nation mold its morals, religion, and politics. The Northern treason, now threatening to betray us to our foes, is hatched at our own firesides, where traitor snobs, returned from Europe and the South, out of time and tune with independence and equality, infuse into their sons the love of caste and class, of fame and family, wealth and ease, and baptize it all in the name of Republicanism and Christianity.

Let every woman understand that this war involves the same principles that have convulsed the nations of the earth from Pharaoh to Abraham Lincoln—liberty or slavery—democracy or aristocracy—Christianity or barbarism—and choose, this day, whether our republican institutions shall be placed on an enduring basis, and an eternal peace secured to our children, or whether we shall leap back through generations of light and experience, and meekly bow again to chains and slavery.

Shall Northern freemen yet stand silent lookers-on when through Topeka, St. Paul, Chicago, Cleveland, Boston, and New York, men and women, little boys and girls, chained in gangs, shall march to their own sad music, beneath a tyrant's lash? On our sacred soil shall we behold the auction-block—babies sold by the pound, and beautiful women for the vilest purposes of lust; where parents and children, husbands and wives, brothers and sisters, shall be torn from each other, and sent East and West, North and South? Shall our free presses and free schools, our palace homes, colleges, churches, and stately capitols all be leveled to the dust? Our household gods all desecrated, and our proud lips, ever taught to sing peans to liberty, made to swear allegiance to the god of slavery? Such degradation, and more than words can tell, shall yet be ours, if we gird not up our giant freemen now to crush this rebellion, and root out for ever the hateful principle of caste and class. Men who, in the light of the XIXth century, believed that God made one race all booted and spurred, and another to be ridden; who would build up a government with slavery for its corner-stone, cannot live on the same continent with a pure democracy.

To counsel grim-visaged war seems hard to come from woman's lips; but better far that the bones of our sires and sons whiten

every Southern plain, that we do their rough work at home, than that liberty, struck dumb in the capital of our Republic, should plead no more for man. Every woman who appreciates the grand problem of national life must say war, pestilence, famine, anything but an ignoble peace.

We are but co-workers now with the true ones of every age. The history of the past is but one long struggle upward to equality. All men, born slaves to ignorance, superstition, lust, and fear, crept through centuries of darkness, discord, and despair—now one race dominant, then another—but in this ceaseless warring, ever wearing off their chains and the gross material surroundings of a mere animal existence, until at last the sun of civilization and Christianity dawned on the soul of man, and the precious seed of the ages, garnered up in the Mayflower, was carried in the hollow of God's hand across the mighty waters, and planted deep beneath the snow and ice of Plymouth Rock with prayers and thanksgivings. And what grew there? Men and women who loved liberty better than life. Men and women who believed that not only in person, but in speech, should they be free, and worship the God who had brought them thus far according to the dictates of their own conscience. Men and women who, like Daniel of old, defied the royal lion in his den. Men and women who repudiated the creeds and codes of despots and tyrants, and declared to a waiting world that all men are created equal. And for rights like these, the Fathers fought for seven long years, and we have no record that the women of that Revolution ever once cried "hold, enough," till the invading foe was conquered, and our independence recognized by the nations of the earth.

And here we are, the grandest nation on the globe. By right no privileged caste or class. Education free to all. The humblest digger in the ditch has all the civil, social, and religious rights with the highest in the land. The poorest woman at the washtub may be the mother of a future President. Here all are heirs-apparent to the throne. The genius of our institutions bids every man to rise, stand upright, perfect and use all the powers that God has given him.

It cannot be, that for blessings such as these, now twice baptized in blood, the women of the North do not stand ready for any sacrifice.

A sister of Kossuth, with him an exile to this country, in conversation one day, called my attention to an iron bracelet, the only ornament she wore. In the darkest days of Hungary, said she, our noble women threw their wealth and jewels into the pub-

lic treasury, and clasping iron bands around their wrists, pledged themselves that these should be the only jewels they would wear till Hungary was free.

If darker hours than these should come to us, the women of the North will count no sacrifice too great. What are wealth and jewels, home and ease, sires and sons, to the birthright of freedom, secured to us by the heroes of the Revolution—liberty to universal man? Shall a priceless heritage like this be wrested now from us by Southern tyrants, and Northern women look on unmoved, or basely bid our freemen sue for peace? No! No!! The vacant places at our firesides, the void in every heart, says No!! Such sacrifices must not be in vain!! The cloud that hangs o'er all our Northern homes is gilded with the hope that through these present sufferings the nation shall be redeemed.

ELIZABETH CADY STANTON.

New York, March 30, 1863.

PROCEEDINGS

OF

THE MEETING

OF THE

LOYAL WOMEN OF THE REPUBLIC,

HELD IN

NEW YORK, MAY 14, 1863.

NEW YORK:

PHAIR & CO., STEAM PRINTERS, No. 11 FRANKFORT STREET,

1863.

REPORT.

PURSUANT to call, the Convention of the Loyal Women of the Nation assembled in New York, May 14, 1863. The first session was held Thursday A.M., 10 o'clock, in the CHURCH OF THE PURITANS, (Dr. Cheever's,) in Union Square. The church was filled. The audience mostly women.

At the hour above stated, SUSAN B. ANTHONY, of Rochester, N. Y., called the meeting to order, and read the Call, as follows :

CALL FOR A MEETING OF THE LOYAL WOMEN OF THE NATION.

In this crisis of our Country's destiny, it is the duty of every citizen to consider the peculiar blessings of a republican form of government and decide what sacrifices of wealth and life are demanded for its defense and preservation.

The policy of the war, our whole future life, depend on a universal, clearly defined idea of the end proposed, and the immense advantages to be secured to ourselves and all mankind by its accomplishment.

No mere party or sectional cry, no technicalities of Constitution or military law, no mottoes of craft or policy, are big enough to touch the great heart of a nation in the midst of revolution. A grand idea, such as freedom or justice, is needful to kindle and sustain the fires of a high enthusiasm.

At this hour, the best word and work of every man and woman are imperatively demanded. To man, by common consent, is assigned the forum, camp, and field. What is woman's legitimate work, and how she may best accomplish it, is worthy our earnest counsel one with another.

We have heard many complaints of the lack of enthusiasm among Northern Women ; but, when a mother lays her son on the altar of her country, she asks an object equal to the sacrifice. In nursing the sick and wounded, knitting socks, scraping lint, and making jellies, the bravest and best may weary if the thoughts mount not in faith to something beyond and above it all. Work is worship only when a noble purpose fills the soul.

Woman is equally interested and responsible with man in the final settlement of this problem of self-government; therefore let none stand idle spectators now. When every hour is big with destiny, and each delay but complicates our difficulties, it is high time for the daughters of the revolution, in solemn council, to

unseal the last will and testament of the Fathers,—lay hold of their birthright of freedom, and keep it a sacred trust for all coming generations.

To this end, we ask the Loyal Women of the Nation to meet in New York, on Thursday, the 14th of May next.

Let the Women of every State be largely represented, both by person and by letter.

There will be two sessions—the first at 10 o'clock A.M., at the Church of the Puritans, (Dr. Cheever's,) admittance free—the second at the Cooper Institute—at 7½ o'clock P.M., admittance 25 cents.

On behalf of the Woman's Central Committee,

ELIZABETH CADY STANTON.

N.B.—Communications relative to and for the meeting should be addressed to SUSAN B. ANTHONY, 48 Beekman Street, New York.

Miss ANTHONY then nominated LUCY STONE of New Jersey for President. The nomination was unanimously indorsed.

THE PRESIDENT submitted the following officers, which were adopted :

VICE-PRESIDENTS,

E. CADY STANTON, of New York,
ANGELINA GRIMKE WELD, of N. J.,
FANNIE W. WILLARD, of Penn.,
MARY H. L. CABOT, of Massachusetts,
Mrs MARY WHITE, of Connecticut,
Mrs. E. O. SAMPSON HOYT, of Wisconsin,
Mrs. ELIZA W. FARNHAM, of California,
Mrs. H. INGERSOL, of Maine.

SECRETARIES,

MARTHA C. WRIGHT, of N. Y., and LUCY N. COLMAN, of N. Y.

BUSINESS COMMITTEE,

SUSAN B. ANTHONY,
ERNESTINE L. ROSE, New York,
Rev. ANTOINETTE B. BLACKWELL, N. J.
AMY POST, N. Y.,
and ANNIE V. MUMFORD, Penn.

While the Business Committee were preparing resolutions, the Secretaries read extracts from letters from various sections of the North, which, together with many others, will be found in the appendix.

Mrs. STANTON was then introduced, and addressed the Convention as follows :—

SPEECH OF MRS. E. CADY STANTON.

WOMEN OF THE REPUBLIC :—In giving our pledge of loyalty to the Government, let us remember that true patriotism is not summed up in the motto, "OUR COUNTRY RIGHT OR WRONG"—a narrow, base sentiment, unworthy citizens of a true republic ; rather let us, ever loyal to principle and God, choose that better motto, "FREEDOM AND OUR COUNTRY." We have assembled at this time, to exalt

the purpose for which our grand army now bleeds and dies, and to move the hearts of the women of the nation in higher, holier channels than they have been wont to flow. Inasmuch as to woman, by common consent, is assigned the moral and religious sphere of action, it is ever her duty to urge the national mind up to eternal principles; hence her post, with the white flag of purity and truth, is ever in the van.

As the inspired Joan of Arc led the French armies to victory, so the women of this Republic, scorning mere worldly wisdom, and unitedly demanding freedom for all, by an unwavering faith in the God of truth, would nerve the strong arms in the field, and clear the confused, conflicting counsels in our Capitol.

The nation, foundered in the mists of statesmanship, diplomacy and policy, precedents and authorities, must be brought back to simple principles by a new generation of teachers—those who walk by faith—who place the Golden Rule above all creeds and codes and constitutions. The lesson of the hour, that every mother should teach her son, is to do justice and love mercy. The women of the Republic have something more to do than stand silent spectators of the awful tragedy now passing before us; the time has come to all for thought and action,—let no one stand idly gazing into vacancy. Our homes, our altars, and our country demand the best word and work of every head and heart and hand. Our care to watch the sick and dying in camp and hospital; to lighten the dark valley and shadow of death, as our fair-haired boys pass through, with the thought that in these present sufferings we behold the birth of universal liberty. At home, too, we must do double duty now. We must study the arts of finance and economy, for the creators of our wealth and luxuries have been slain by thousands on the battle-field. The time may not be distant when, by our own creative skill, we must supply even the bare necessities. The question is not now of woman's sphere, but woman's bread.

Hundreds of fatherless families at this hour look to her for support. Sad men, the maim, the halt, the blind, the wreck of war, lean on woman for comfort and the means of life. The army, in its hardships and reverses, falls back on those at home for fresh inspiration, for words of hope and cheer. What grace and energy it needs to meet these varying claims! God help us to be great enough for the duties of this solemn hour! God give us a holy charge of those brave men who yet may strike stout blows for freedom! May they be ever present in our thoughts! In the midst of peace and plenty, may we not forget the peril of their lives!

The women of a nation mold its morals, religion, and politics ; not by the sermons they preach, but by the lives they live. It needs more than a strict observance of forms and proprieties to plow up a nation's heart, and sow the seed of a true and lasting greatness. Woman's influence is omnipotent! If not ennobling by example and precept, urging the race up to the practice of the highest virtues, she has the power to enfeeble and pervert the best gifts of heaven. All admit that the fanaticism of Southern women in their homes has done as much to keep the rebellion alive as their men in the battle-field. If mere pride of race and class can raise woman to such hights of self-denial, endurance, and revenge, —if, to maintain their barbarous institutions, they so willingly sacrifice life and every comfort, what shall *we* not do and suffer to maintain the best government on the earth? To strengthen the love we feel for our free institutions, we cannot too often recount the peculiar blessings of our form of government, as compared with every other on the globe. Consider for a moment the grand principles of equality and freedom we have declared, and by the elective franchise secured to every citizen of the Republic. That these privileges are not exercised by all, is no fault of our declared principles, but in direct opposition to the genius of a true republicanism. Consider how we have dignified manhood and labor! ever loyal to good men and true, no matter where they were born, or what road they took to distinction. We feel more pride in our learned blacksmith, than England in her heir-apparent to the throne. To those who are struggling up, a rail-splitter in the White House is a great fact ; would that he had as much skill in cutting down rebels as he is said to have had in cutting down trees. Look at our free schools, free press, free homes. The Homestead Bill, by future generations, will be regarded as one of the pyramids of our national glory. We are too near it to see the magnitude of its proportions. But the foreigner coming here, and for the first time owning the land he tills, and having a voice in public affairs, by the wild joy and license he manifests, shows us the transforming power of our free institutions. The chief glory in a republican government is the individual development it brings. Where all share its responsibilities, each man feels the necessity of some knowledge of the laws and Constitution under which he lives.

On this principle of equality, barbarous nations and selfish classes of men have ever made war, and ever will, till all are Christianized ; but each turn of the wheel of civilization is ever in the direction of more enlarged liberty, and through these bloody

revolutions nations rise to higher planes of thought and action. Our consolation in this present struggle is that from these sufferings every American must learn that there is nothing more sacred in the universe than the rights of man. In the XIXth century we might have hoped that the pen, the pulpit, and the polls would be the true weapons of success; but as the mass of Southern barbarians could neither read nor write, and had never heard the Gospel of Freedom, the North was forced to meet them on their own ground, and use the weapons they had chosen. All that now remains for us to do is to fight it out to a triumphant end. Let there be no more talk of peace or compromise. The Northern neck must never bow again to the yoke of slavery. We must fight on, and conquer. When we have scattered their armies, killed their snakes and crocodiles, ditched their swamps—for which McClellan may be in requisition once more—distributed their lands among our soldiers, black and white, the best thing we can then do is to colonize the chivalry, with a body-guard of Northern Copperheads, to the coast of Liberia, as missionaries to civilize and Christianize the entire African race—a work for which they have proved themselves so pre-eminently successful for the last century!!

A Colonization Society has been the utopian dream of this nation; and now here is a practical work to do: to get rid of a class of men that have always proved themselves worse than useless, instead of a docile laboring population, is certainly, in a political economic point of view, a far more sensible and tangible project. The saddest spectacle at this hour is that of an American woman who knows not where to stand, who has no sympathy with either side, who loves not slavery or liberty, who would not have a blow struck to destroy the one, or save the other.

We can respect the women of the South; their fervent zeal for what they love is worthy of our praise. The women of the North, loyal to freedom, have cherished principles to which they, too, are true. But what shall we say of those who, breathing the pure air of our Northern hills, feel in their souls no pride of country, no anguish at the desecration of its flag; who coolly smirk at our reverses, and taunt the green graves of our sons with rebel victories? What cold and narrow natures must they have! What a mean type of manhood must they reflect! Of all the men who have figured in public life, the most contemptible have been the "Northern men with Southern principles," who for the love of gain and office have bowed the knee to slavery; but for women who sympathize with men like these, we have a more profound

contempt, by just so far as we look to woman for purer, higher motives of action, than to those who are swallowed up in ambition. How faithless have Northern women been to the priceless heritage left them by the Fathers! We might learn lessons of wisdom from the untiring care and assiduity of the mothers of the South. How sedulously at every point have they guarded slavery, and trained their youth to love and honor the institutions of the South. No Southern boy e'er dreamed it was a sin to hold a slave; and if he did, he dare not tell his dream. Expurgated editions (with all peans to liberty left out) of school-books, poems, plays, stories, and sermons were always carefully prepared for the Southern market. And they would have got out an expurgated edition of the Bible, too, had it not been easier to create doctors of divinity, without souls or principle, who could cunningly misinterpret and misconstrue those pages that glow with freedom from Genesis to Revelations.

They have perverted the commandments given in Sinai, blasphemed Jesus, nullified the Gospel of humanity, and made its apostles defenders of tyranny and oppression. Yes, at the fireside, in the school-house, in the pulpit, in legislative halls, in courts of justice, at their festive gatherings and solemn fasts, everywhere, they have permitted only those to speak who were sound on the question of slavery.

And what have we done for the tree of liberty, struggling for life on the rock-bound coast of New England?

Have we dug about its roots, enriched its soil with the best gifts of earth, watered it with tears of joy and thanksgiving, and taught our children to worship it as the only sacred thing on this continent? Have we insisted that in our schools, colleges, churches, lyceums, legislative halls, none should speak or hold office but those who believed in the commandments of God, in the doctrines of Jesus, in the declaration of the Fathers, in freedom to all? No, no. Having driven the British from our shores, we crowned Cotton King, and turned our thoughts to commerce, wealth, and ease—enriched the world with our manufactures, filled our coffers with gold, built palace homes, and bade our souls rest satisfied. In the meantime, the South educated our sons as well as their own. True, it was all done in Northern schools, colleges, churches, by our daily journals, monthly periodicals, in our political campaigns and Fourth-of-July orations, in our courts of justice and legislative halls; but the South molded all our teachers, editors, authors, doctors of divinity, orators, statesmen, and politicians, and taught our wise men that the "limits of human responsibility" were outside the domain of slavery. The South made such rare dis-

coveries in the sciences of jurisprudence, morals, and theology, that our great men and scholars modestly retired from the whole field of ethics, and accepted law from them. Thus have they given us our teachers, civil and military officers, and governed the country with slave creeds and codes from Maine to Louisiana.

What wonder that the Northern mind is darkened and befogged on all questions of morals! What wonder that our free States have passed laws excluding black men from their borders! that our cities have witnessed such disgraceful riots and outrages on unoffending laborers; and that in the avenues of our metropolis we exclude them from our cars, and publish our national disgrace up and down the streets in great letters, "COLORED PEOPLE ALLOWED IN THIS CAR!" The right of every man to himself, is the A, B, C of Christianity; and yet we have boys and girls on all sides, educated in so-called Christian families, churches, and Sunday-schools, who would be startled with the declaration that slavery is a sin against God; that no Christian can be a slaveholder. They know it is a sin to steal a horse, a watch, a loaf of bread; but they do not know that it is a sin to steal a man. Where have the high priests of the living God hid themselves, that the people has been left thus to follow idols? Our altars draped with the nation's flag, are significant of the future union of church and state. A sad divorce it has been that they who have claimed to train the moral nature of the race should separate themselves from all the affairs of life, where they could best learn the lessons they should teach. But that day has passed. Our bishops now advise the state. We do not hear so much in the pulpit even of Abraham's seed and sacrifice and faith, as Abraham's Cabinet, his army, and his need of strength to fight the battles of the Lord.

The people have never been taught that the essential essence of Christianity is humanity. "Love thy neighbor as thyself;" "God made of one blood all the nations of the earth;" "Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so to them: this is the law and the Gospel." Had all Northern mothers taught these great truths to their sons as sedulously as Southern mothers have the lessons of slavery, we should have crowded slavery into the Gulf long ago, with the almighty power of our free institutions. And here, O woman of the XIXth century! is your work for the future. The nation is to be educated to-day in the first principles of human rights—a hopeless task for man alone, never to be accomplished until the mothers of the Republic be galvanized

into a new life of religious earnestness and noble purpose, until the eternal principles of justice and mercy have crystallized in their inner souls.

As I look forward to the true Republic that will surely rise from this shattered Union, I behold the future woman in harmony with its grand proportions, crowned with new virtue and strength, honor and majesty, adorning the niche it is her destiny to fill.

SPEECH OF SUSAN B. ANTHONY.

Mrs. President :—As the correspondence from the different parts of the country has been directed to me, it is proper for me to state that I have received numbers of letters from every loyal State—I believe from every one with the exception of little Rhode Island. I do not remember of a word from that State ; but we know that it is not because there is no love of freedom there. The letters, of course, cannot all be read ; it is always tedious to an audience to listen to them. But the one word which has come up from all quarters has been an earnestness of purpose on the part of the women of the country to surrender everything in their power in order to aid the Government in the prosecution of this war to the glorious end of freedom. I do not remember one which has not specifically stated that the end, and the aim, and purpose of the war was, in their estimation, FREEDOM to every human being. (Applause.)

The President :—I take great pleasure in introducing to the audience a lady, once a South Carolinian slaveholder, who, twenty-five years ago, gave freedom to all her slaves, and then gave the better strength of the younger years of her life to going up and down among the people, and urging them to give also freedom to all the slaves. To-day she is with us, a loyal woman, and asks you to be loyal also. I introduce Angeline G. Weld. (Applause.)

SPEECH OF MRS. ANGELINE G. WELD.

My Friends :—It is with the deepest feelings that I come before you this morning. I came here with no desire and no intention to speak ; but my heart is full, my country is bleeding, my people are perishing around me. And I feel as a South Carolinian, I am bound to tell the North, Go on! Go on!! Never falter, never abandon the principles which you have now adopted. I could not say this if we were now where we stood two years ago. I could not

say thus when it was proclaimed in the Northen States that the Union was all that we sought. No, my friends, such a Union as we had then, God be praised that it has perished ; God be praised that it is shattered. Oh, never for one moment consent that such a Union should be re-established in our land. There was a time when I looked upon our Fathers—the Fathers of the Revolution —with the deepest sorrow and the keenest reproach. I said to their shadows in another world, " Why did you leave this accursed system of slavery for us to suffer and to die under ? why did you not, with a stroke of the pen, determine—when you acquired your own independence—that the slaves should be set free ? that the principles which you adopted in the Declaration of Independence should be a shield of protection to every man, whether he be slave or whether he be free ?" But, my friends, the experience of sixty years has shown me that the fruit grows slowly. I look back and see that great Sower of the world, as he traveled the streets of Jerusalem and scattered the seeds of truth. There he dropped the precious seed, "Do unto others as ye would that others should do unto you." I look at all the contests which the world in different nations has had to pass through for its freedom, and I see that, whether it were the Patricians of Rome, or England, or France, or any part of Europe, every battle fought gained something to freedom. We passed on until our Fathers, driven out by the oppression of England, came to this country and planted that little seed of liberty upon the soil of New England. When our Revolution took place, the seed was only in the process of sprouting. You must recollect that our Declaration of Independence was the very first national evidence of the great doctrine of brotherhood and equality, which Jesus Christ had taught the world. I verily believe that those who were the true lovers of liberty did all that they could at that time. They stepped to the very breach of the Constitution, and in their debates in the Convention they lifted up their voices against slavery—they protested against the hypocrisy and inconsistency of a nation declaring such glorious truths, and then trampling them under foot ; enslaving the poor and oppressed because he was poor and oppressed, because he had a skin not colored like our own : as though a man's skin should make any difference in the recognition of his rights, any more than the color of his hair or of his eyes. This little blade sprouted as it were from the precious seeds that were planted by Jesus of Nazareth. But, my friends, if it took eighteen hundred years for that precious seed to bring forth the little blade which was then seen in our Declaration, are we not unreasonable

to suppose that more could have been done than has been done, looking at the imperfections of human nature, looking at the selfishness of man, looking at his desire for wealth and his greed for glory? If it could have been possible that the South could have been overcome at that time by the freemen of the North in their desire to institute a free Government, we should have had a free Government; but it was impossible to overcome the long and strong prejudices of the South in favor of slavery. I know what the South is. I lived there the best part of my life. I never could talk against slavery without making my friends angry—never. I never lifted my voice against oppression but they were always angry with me. When they thought that the day was far off, and that there was no danger of emancipation, they were willing to admit that it was an evil; but when God in his providence raised up in this country an Anti-slavery Society, which for upwards of thirty years has gone all over this land, protesting against the oppressions which are exercised over the colored man, they began to see that danger was near; then they began to feel that truth which is more powerful than arms—that truth which is the only banner under which we can successfully fight any contest. When they found that that was lifted up in our land, they saw very clearly that it was impossible to arrest its progress; that, like the little seed of the mustard, it was destined to become a great tree, which would throw out its broad branches and overarch not the North alone, but the South, even unto the Gulf. Hence they were alarmed; hence they began to see that their power was waning. Do you not see clearly that they were comparatively quiet till they found that, in the election of Mr. Lincoln, the scepter had actually departed from them? His election was to them a watchword of the nation. His election took place on the ground that slavery was not to be extended—that it must not pass into the Territories. This was what alarmed them. They saw that if the national Government should take one such step, it never would stop there; that this principle which had begun to work in the Government had never before been acknowledged by those who had any power in the nation, any office, or any authority. God be praised. Abolitionists never sought place or power. All they asked was freedom; all they wanted was that the white man should take his foot off the negro's neck. They cared for nothing else. The South determined to resist the election of Mr. Lincoln. They determined if Fremont was elected, they would rebel. And this rebellion is like their own Republic, as they call it; it is founded upon slavery. Without it they never would have wanted to rebel. As I asked one of my

friends one day, "What are you rebelling for? The North never made any laws for you that they have not cheerfully obeyed themselves. What is the trouble between us?" Slavery, slavery is the trouble. Slavery is a "divine institution."

Now, my friends, it is a fact that the South has incorporated slavery into her religion; that is the most fearful thing in this rebellion. They are fighting, verily believing that they are doing God service. The day has come when darkness covers the land, and gross darkness the people, and they do put light for darkness, and truth for evil. They really believe that slavery is a divine institution. Most of them have never seen the North. They understand very little of the working of our institutions; but their politicians are stung to the quick by the prosperity of the North. They see that the institution which they have established cannot make them wealthy, cannot make them happy, cannot make them respected in the world at large, and their motto is, "Rule or ruin."

Before I close, I would like, however strange it may seem, to utter a protest against what my friend said of colonizing the aristocrats in Liberia. Oh, I cannot consent to such a thing. Do you know that Liberia has never let a slave tread her soil?—that when, from the interior of the country, the slaves came into Liberia to seek shelter, and their heathen masters pursued them, she never surrendered one? She stands firmly on the platform of freedom to all. I am deeply interested in this colony of Liberia. I do not want it to be cursed with the aristocracy of the South, or any other aristocracy, and far less with the Copperheadism of the North. (Laughter.) If these Southern aristocrats are to be colonized, Mrs. President, don't you think England is the best place for them? England is the country which has sympathized most deeply with them. She has allowed vessels to be built to prey upon our commerce; she has sent them arms and ammunition, and everything she could send through the West India Islands. Shall we send men to Liberia who are ready to tread the black man under their feet—men who would only be pests of society there? No. God bless Liberia for what she has done, and what she is destined to do. (Applause.)

I am very glad to say here, that last summer I had the pleasure of entertaining several times, in our house, a Liberian who was well educated in England. He had graduated at Oxford College, and had a high position there. His health broke down, and he concluded he would go to Liberia. "Well," said he, "when I went to Liberia I had a first-rate education, and I supposed, of

course, I would be a very superior man there ; I thought there was no doubt of that at all ; but I very soon found that, though I knew a great deal more Greek and Latin and mathematics than most of the men there, I was a child to them in the science of government and history. Why," said he, "you have no idea of the progress of Liberia. The men who go there find immediately that they are freemen ; that they are citizens ; that the burdens of society are upon them ; and they feel that they must begin to educate themselves, and they are self-educated men. The President of Liberia, Mr. Benson, was a slave about seven years ago on a plantation in this country. He went to Liberia. He was a man of uncommon talents. He educated himself up to the duties which he found himself called upon to perform as a citizen. And perhaps you already know it, when Mr. Benson visited England a year ago, he had a perfect ovation wherever he went. The white ladies and gentlemen of England, those who were really anti-slavery in their feelings—who loved liberty—followed him wherever he went. They opened their houses, they had their *soirees*, and they welcomed him by every kind of demonstration of their good wishes for Liberia.

Now, Mrs. President, the great object that I had in view in rising, was to give you a representative from South Carolina. (Applause.) I mourn exceedingly that she has taken the position she has. I once had a brother who, had he been there, would have stood by Judge Pettigrew in his protest against the system which the South has begun. He, many years ago, during the time of nullification in 1832, was in the Senate of South Carolina, and delivered an able address, in which he discussed these very points, and showed that the South had no right of secession ; that, in becoming an integral part of the United States, they had themselves voluntarily surrendered the right of secession. And he remarked, "If you persist in this contest, you will be like a girdled tree, which must perish and die. You cannot stand." (Applause.)

The President :—Mrs. Weld thinks it would be too bad to send the Southern aristocrats and Northern copperheads to Liberia : I do not know but it would. I am equally sure that it would be too bad to send them among the laboring people of England, who are thoroughly, heartily, and wholly on the side of the loyal North. They ought not to be sent there. I would suggest, when they are fairly subdued, that we should send them to London to make a part of the staff of *The London Times*. I think they would do better there than anywhere else. (Laughter.)

SUSAN B. ANTHONY, on behalf of the Business Committee, reported the following resolutions :

Resolved, 1. That the present war between slavery and freedom is but one phase of the irrepressible conflict between the aristocratic doctrine that power, not humanity, is statute-maker, and the democratic principle that self-government is the inalienable right of the people.

Resolved, 2. That we heartily approve that part of the President's Proclamation which decrees freedom to the slaves of rebel masters, and we earnestly urge him to devise measures for emancipating all slaves throughout the country.

Resolved, 3. That the national pledge to the freedmen must be redeemed, and the integrity of the Government in making it vindicated at whatever cost.

Resolved, 4. That while we welcome to legal freedom the recent slaves, we solemnly remonstrate against all state or national legislation which may exclude them from any locality, or debar them from any rights or privileges as free and equal citizens of a common Republic.

Resolved, 5. That it is in the same class favoring aristocratic interest that the property, the liberty, and the lives of all slaves, all citizens of African descent, and all women, are placed at the mercy of a legislation in which they are not represented. There never can be a true peace in this Republic until the civil and political equality of every subject of the Government shall be practically established.

Resolved, 6. That if Northern women lack enthusiasm in this war, it is because they have not seen its real nature and purport If the wife or mother cheerfully lays her loved ones on the altar, she must be impelled to it by a living faith in the justice of her cause.

Resolved, 7. That the women of the Revolution were not wanting in heroism and self-sacrifice, and we, their daughters, are ready in this war to pledge our time, our means, our talents, and our lives, if need be, to secure the final and complete consecration of America to freedom.

THE PRESIDENT :—Before the resolutions shall be discussed, the Hutchinsons will give us one of their songs. General McClellan was not willing that they should sing on the other side of the Potomac, but we are very glad to have them sing here.

A song was then given by the Hutchinsons, entitled "The Contraband Song."

THE PRESIDENT :—The resolutions may now be discussed, either by those friendly or those opposed to them—even copperheads, so they have good ideas, are quite welcome to discuss them.

SUSAN B. ANTHONY :—Mrs. President, there is great fear expressed on all sides lest this war shall be made a war for the negro. I am willing that it shall be ; I am ready to admit that it is a war for the negro. It is a war to found an empire on the negro in slavery, and

shame on us if we make it not a war to establish the negro in freedom! It is a war for the elevation of humanity. And the negro, the portion of humanity most down-trodden in this country—the negro, against whom the whole nation, North and South, East and West, in one mighty conspiracy, has been combined from the beginning—must now be made the exponent of the war. There is no name given under heaven wherewith to break, and for ever crush out this wicked conspiracy, save that of the negro.

Great care has been taken, ever since the war began, to keep the negro and slavery out of sight and hearing. But my position has ever been, that instead of thus suppressing the real cause of the war, it should have been proclaimed, not only by the people, but by the President, Congress, Cabinet, and every Military Commander. And when the Government, military and civil, and the people, acknowledged slavery to be the cause of the war, they should have simultaneously, one and all, decreed its total overthrow. Instead of President Lincoln's waiting two long years before calling into the field and to the side of the Government the four millions of allies whom we have had within the territory of rebeldom, it was the first duty of the first decree he sent forth. Every hour's delay has been a sin and a shame registered against him, and every life sacrificed to the Moloch of war, up to the Proclamation that called the slave to freedom and to arms, was nothing less than downright murder by the Government. For by all the laws of common sense—to say nothing of laws military or national—if the President, as Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy, could have devised any possible means whereby he might hope to suppress the rebellion, without the sacrifice of the life of one loyal citizen, without the sacrifice of one dollar of the loyal North, it was clearly his duty to have done so. Every interest of the insurgents, every dollar of their property, every institution, however peculiar, every life in every rebel state, even, if necessary, should have been sacrificed, before one dollar or one man should have been drawn from the free States. How much more, then, was it the President's duty to confer freedom on the four million slaves, transform them into a peaceful army for the Union, cripple the rebellion, and establish justice, the only sure foundation of peace! I therefore hail the day when the President, the Government, and the people shall recognize that it is a war for the negro and for his freedom.

For if there is a God in heaven, if there is a law of justice in the earth, if there is a law of cause and effect in the universe, this war can never be suppressed, this nation can never know

peace, until slavery—the cause of the war—is wholly and for ever removed. (Applause.) It is impossible. We talk about returning to the old Union—"the Union as it was," and "the Constitution as it is"—about "restoring our country to peace and prosperity—to the blessed conditions that existed before the war!!" I ask you what sort of peace, what sort of prosperity, have we had in this country? We have had no peace, but constant war from the beginning. Since the first slave-ship sailed up the James River with its human cargo, and there, on the soil of the *Old* Dominion, it was sold to the highest bidder, we have had nothing but war. When that pirate captain landed on the shores of Africa, and there kidnapped the first stalwart negro, and fastened the first manacle, the struggle between that captain and that negro was the commencement of the terrible war in the midst of which we are to-day. Between the slave and the master there has been war, and war only, from the beginning. This is only a new form of the war. No, no; we ask for no return to the old conditions. We ask for something better than the old. We want a Union that is a Union in fact—a Union in spirit, not a sham Union. (Applause.) I just remember me that it is the women of the North who are assembled here to-day—the women who have been wont to consider themselves irresponsible for the conduct of the affairs of the nation. And indeed they have no direct responsibility, for they have been content to accept whatever conditions of politics or morals the ruling class has been pleased to make. From the commencement of the Government, political intriguers have given to the entire nation not only its political code, but its moral and religious codes.

By the Constitution as it is—that is, as it has been interpreted and executed from the beginning—the North has stood pledged to protect slavery in the states where it existed. We have been bound, in case of slave insurrections, to go to the aid, not of those struggling for liberty, but to the aid of the oppressors. It was politicians who made the pledge at the beginning, and who have renewed it from year to year to this day. These same politicians have had control of the churches, the Sabbath-schools, and all religious influences; and the women, in this department, have been a part and party in complicity with slavery. The women have made the large majority in all the different religious organizations throughout the country, and have without protest even, in obedience to the behests of politics and trade, fellowshipped the slaveholder as a Christian, accepted pro-slavery preaching from their pulpits, suffered the words "slavery a crime" to be expur-

gated from all the lessons taught their children, listened to the perversion of the Golden Rule, "Do unto others as you would that others should do unto you." For all these years, women, mothers, have thus sat silent lookers-on, while their sons and daughters were being educated in forgetfulness of every law of right and justice to the slave. They have had no right to vote in their churches, and, like slaves, have merely accepted whatever of morals and religion the selfish interest of politics and trade dictated.

The point I wish to make here is this, that the hour is fully come, when woman shall no longer be the passive recipient of whatever morals and religion the trade and politics of the nation may decree ; but that she shall now assume her God-given responsibilities, and make herself what she is clearly designed to be, the educator of the race. Let her no longer be the mere reflector, the echo of the worldly pride and ambition of the other half of the race. (Applause.) Had the women of the North studied to know and to teach their sons the law of justice to the black man, as the white, regardless of the frown or the smile of pro-slavery priest and politician, they would not now be called upon to offer the loved of their households to the bloody Moloch of war.

And now, women of the North, I ask you to rise up with earnest, honest purpose, to speak the true word and do the just work, in season and out of season. I ask you to forget that you are women, and go forward in the way of right, fearlessly, as independent human beings, responsible to God alone for the discharge of every duty, for the faithful use of every gift, for the multiplying tenfold every talent the good Father has given you. Forget conventionalisms ; forget what the world will say, whether you are in your place or out of your place ; think your best thoughts, speak your best words, do your best works, looking only to suffering humanity, your own conscience, and God for approval.

Ernestine L. Rose :—I rise simply to make one remark, and I know my friend who has just taken her seat will have no objection. I know what she meant, but some may misunderstand her. No. Woman should never forget herself that she is a woman. It is because she remembers that she is a woman that she is in duty bound to go for everything that is right, for everything that is just, for everything that is grand and noble, and consequently for human freedom. (Applause.)

Mrs. Hoyt of Wisconsin :—Thus far this meeting has been conducted in such a way as would lead one to suppose that it was an anti-slavery convention. There are ladies here who have come hundreds of miles to attend a business meeting of the Loyal Ladies of the North ; and good as anti-slavery conventions are, and anti-slavery speeches are, in their way, I think that here we should attend to our own business.

SPEECH OF MRS. CHALKSTONE.

Mrs. Chalkstone of California :—My speech shall be as brief as possible, and I ask for an excuse for my broken language. But the lady speaker before me made a few remarks to which, as a woman and a mother, I feel it my duty to respond. And as the cause is such a great one that assembles us together, I think we should be well aware of what we say, and of what it is our duty to do. Let us never forget that we are women, and that we are mothers. It needs something new in these hard times to raise women out of their idleness and inaction. It is the mother who forms the character of the child, and especially of her sons. Woman may raise herself and perform her duty without forgetting that she is woman. Our field is very small, and God has given us character and abilities to follow it out. We do not need to stand at the ballot-boxes and cast our votes, neither to stand and plead as lawyers ; but in our homes we have a great office. I consider women a great deal superior to men. (Laughter and applause.) Men are physically strong, but women are morally better. I speak of pure women, good women. It is woman who keeps the world in the balance.

I am from Germany, where my brothers all fought against the Government and tried to make us free, but were unsuccessful. My only son, seventeen years old, is in our great and noble army of the Union. He has fought many of the battles now, and I only came from California to see him once more. I have not seen him yet. Though I was down in the camp, I could not get any pass. But I am willing to lay down all this sacrifice for the cause of liberty. We foreigners know the preciousness of that great, noble gift a great deal better than you, because you never were in slavery, but we are born in it. Germany pines for freedom. In Germany we sacrificed our wealth and ornaments for it, and the women in this country ought to do the same. We cannot fight in the battles, but we can do this for the great cause, and it is all that we can do. Then, the speaker before me made a remark

that Abraham Lincoln was two years before he emancipated slaves. She thought it wrong. It took eighteen hundred years in Europe to emancipate the Jews, and they are not emancipated now. Among great intelligent peoples like Germany and France, until 1814, no Jew had the right to go on the pavement ; they had to go in the middle of the street, where the horses walked ! And it took eighteen hundred years to emancipate them. It took more than two years to emancipate the people of the North from the idea that the negro was not a human being, and was not capable to be our equal. He has a right to be a free man, but only time can make him an equal. A great many will find fault in the resolution that the negro shall be free and our equal, because our equal not every human being can be ; but free every human being has a right to be. He can only be equal in his rights. (Applause.)

Ernestine L. Rose called for the reading of the resolutions, and their consideration *seriatim*. All were adopted unanimously save the fifth, which had a large majority.

The following discussion took place on the fifth resolution, commenced by Mrs. Hoyt of Wisconsin :

SPEECH OF MRS. HOYT.

Mrs. President :—I object to the passage of this resolution, not because I object to the sentiment expressed, I wish to be distinctly understood ; but I do not think it is a time to bring before this Ladies' Loyal Meeting, assembled for the purpose of devising the best ways and means by which women may properly assist the Government in its struggle against treason, anything which could in the least prejudice the interest in this cause which is so dear to us all. We all know that Woman's Rights as an *ism* has not been received with entire favor by the women of the country, and I know that there are thousands of earnest, loyal, and able women who will not go into any movement of this kind, if this idea is made prominent. (Applause.) I came here from Wisconsin hoping to meet the earnest, loyal women of the country. I hoped that nothing that would in any way damage the cause so dear to us all would be brought forward by any of the members of this meeting, and I am sorry to see it has been done to some extent. (Applause.)

I object to this, because our idea and principal object should be to help maintain, as women properly may, the integrity of our Government ; to help vindicate its authority ; to re-establish it

upon a far more enduring basis than it is established now. The way is open for us. We can do this if we do not involve ourselves in any purely political matter, or any *ism* which is peculiarly obnoxious to the people—I will not say to a majority, but to very many. The one idea should be the maintenance of the authority of the Government as it is, and the integrity of the Republican idea. For this, women may properly work, and I hope this resolution will not pass.

Mrs. Sarah Halleck :—I would make the suggestion that those women of us who approve of this resolution can afford to give way so far as to allow that part of it which is objected to to be passed by, and to mention in it only the negro. The negroes have suffered more than the women, and the women, perhaps, can afford to give them the preference. Let it stand as regards them, and blot out the word "woman." It may possibly be woman's place to suffer. At any rate, let her suffer, if, by that means, *man*kind may suffer less.

A Voice :—You are too self-sacrificing.

Ernestine L. Rose :—I always sympathize with those who seem to be in the minority. I know it requires a great deal of moral courage to object to anything that appears to have been favorably received. I know very well from long experience how it feels to stand in a minority of one ; and I am glad that that friend on the other side (Mrs. Halleck) has already added one to make a minority of two, though that is by far too small to be comfortable. I, for one, object to throw women out of the race for freedom. (Applause.) And do you know why? Because she needs freedom for the freedom of man. (Applause.) Our ancestors made a great mistake in not recognizing woman in the rights of man. It has been justly stated that the negro at present suffers more than woman, but it can do him no injury to place woman in the same category with him. I, for one, object to having that term stricken out, for it can have no possible bearing against anything that we want to promote, for we desire to promote human rights and human freedom. It can do no injury, but must do good, for it is a painful fact that woman under the law, until very recently, has been entirely in the same category with the slave. Of late years she has had some small rights conceded to her. Now, mind, I say *conceded ;* for publicly it has not yet been recognized by the laws of the land that she has a right to an equality with man. In that

resolution it simply states a fact, that in a republic based upon freedom, woman, as well as the negro, should be recognized as an equal with the whole human race. (Applause.)

SPEECH OF MRS. ANGELINE G. WELD.

Angeline G. Weld :—Mrs. President, I rejoice exceedingly that that resolution should combine us with the negro in the desire for our rights. I feel that we have been with him; that the iron has entered into our souls. True, we have not felt the slave-holder's lash; true, we have not had our hands manacled; but our *hearts* have been crushed. Was there a single institution in this country that would throw open its doors to the acknowledgment of woman's equality with man in the race for science and the languages, until Oberlin, Antioch, and a very few others opened their doors, twenty years ago? Have I not heard women say—I said thus to my own brother, as I used to receive from him instruction and reading: "Oh, brother, that I could go to college with you! that I could have the doors of instruction opened before me! but I am crushed! I hear nothing, I know nothing, except in the fashionable circle."

A teacher said to a young lady, who had been studying for several years, on the day she finished her course of instruction, "I thought you would be very glad that you were so soon to go home, so soon to leave your studies."

She looked up, and said, "What was I made for? When I go home I shall live in a circle of fashion and folly. I was not made for embroidery, dancing, and folly; I was made a woman; but I cannot be a true woman." And she could not be a full-grown woman in America.

Now, my friends, I do not want to find fault with the past at all. I really believe that men did for women the best that they knew how to do. They did not know their own rights; they did not recognize the rights of any man who had a black face. We cannot wonder that, in their tenderness for woman, they wanted to shelter and protect her, and they made those laws from true, human, generous feelings. Woman was then too undeveloped to demand anything else. But woman is woman to-day, whether man knows it or not; woman is equal to her rights, and equal to the responsibilities of the hour. I want to be identified with the negro—until he gets his rights, we never shall have ours. (Applause.)

Susan B. Anthony :—I want to make one statement with regard to this resolution. It brings in no question, no *ism*, it seems to me. It merely makes the assertion that in a true democracy, in a genuine republic, every citizen who lives under the government must have the right of representation in that government. You will remember that the maxim upon which our Government is founded is that "Governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed." This is the fundamental, underlying, vital principle of democracy ; and before our Government can possibly be a true democracy—before our republic can be placed upon lasting and enduring foundations—the civil and political rights of every citizen thereof must be recognized and practically established. This only is the assertion of the resolution. It is a philosophical statement. It is not because women suffer, it is not because slaves suffer, it is not because of any individual rights or wrongs—it is the simple assertion of the great fundamental truth of democracy that was proclaimed by our Revolutionary fathers.

I hope the discussion will no longer be continued as to the rights or wrongs of one class or another. The question before us is, Is it possible that peace and union shall be established in this country ; is it possible for this Government to be a true democracy, a genuine republic, while one-sixth or one-half of the people are disfranchised? The resolution is simply an assertion of principle, again I repeat ; and again I express the hope that we shall not run off into side-issues.

Mrs. Hoyt :—I do not object—and I wish distinctly to have it understood—to the philosophy of these resolutions. I believe in the advancement of the human race, and certainly not in a retrograde movement of the Woman's Rights question ; but at the same time I do insist that nothing that has become obnoxious to a portion of the people of the country shall be dragged into this meeting. (Applause.) The women of the loyal North were invited here to meet in convention the loyal ladies of New York, not to hold a Temperance meeting, not to hold an Anti-Slavery meeting, not to hold a Woman's Rights convention, but to meet here to consult as to the best practical way for the advancement of the loyal cause. To my certain knowledge there are ladies in this house who have come hundreds of miles, who will withdraw from this convention, who will have nothing to do with it, who will go home disappointed, and be thrown back on their own resources, and form other plans of organization ; whereas they would much prefer to co-operate with the National Convention if

this matter were not introduced. This movement must be sacred to the one object of assisting our Government. I would add one more remark, that though the women of the Revolution did help our Government in that early struggle, they did not find it necessary to set forth in any theoretical or clamorous way their right to equal suffrage or equal political position, though doubtless they believed, as much as any of us, in the advancement of woman.

A Lady :—I want to ask the lady who just spoke if the women of the Revolution found it necessary to form Loyal Leagues? We are not bound to do just as the women of the Revolution did. (Applause and laughter.)

Mrs. Halleck :—Although I am very willing and proud to acknowledge myself to have had the common sense to belong to the radical portion of the Woman's Rights Society, still I feel not only willing to take this objection into consideration, but I hope that this resolution will be omitted. Let it pass, if we can promote any good thereby. If we form a League, the very term itself of forming a League I think suggests that we are not one—that we need not all of us profess the same politics. I, for one, am willing to have the resolution omitted.

SPEECH OF LUCY N. COLEMAN.

Lucy N. Coleman :—I wish to say, in the first place, something a little remote from the point, which I have in my mind just now. A peculiar sensitiveness seems to have come over some of the ladies here in reference to the anti-slavery spirit of the resolutions. It seems to me impossible that a company of women could stand upon this platform without catching something of the anti-slavery spirit, and without expressing, to some extent, their sympathy with the advancement of human rights. It is the Anti-Slavery women and the Women's Rights women who called this meeting, and who have most effectually aided in this movement. Their hearts bled to the very core that our nation is to-day suffering to its depths, and they concluded to call a meeting of the loyal women of the nation, to come together and devise means whereby we shall help the country in its great calamity. I respect the woman who opposed this resolution, for daring to say so much. It is really a brave thing for a woman to dare to do anything. She says that it is an Anti-Slavery convention that is in session. So it is, and something more. (Applause.) She says it is a

Woman's Rights Convention. So it is, and even more than that; it is a World's Convention. (Applause.) Another woman—I rejoice to hear that lisping, foreign tongue—says that our sphere is so narrow that we should be careful to keep within it. All honor to her, that she dared to say even that. I recognize for myself no narrow sphere. (Applause.) Where you may work, my brother, I may work, and to-day the God of heaven—if such exists—(hisses)—knows that I would willingly stand on the battle-field. (Continued hisses.) My friends, hiss, if you please; but I remembered, after uttering that expression, that I might hurt the feelings of some persons not thinking just as I do, and I beg always to be just. I say, I would willingly stand upon the battle-field, and would be glad to receive the balls in my person, if I could feel that in that way I could do more for my country's good than in any other. I recognize no right of any man or of any woman to say that I should not stand there. Our sphere is *not* narrow—it is broad, it is wide.

Now, in reference to this resolution, Mrs. Halleck—than whom there is no person I more respect—thinks it might be well to leave out woman. No, no, I will not allow it—that is, I will speak against it. Do you remember, friends, long, long ago—I think it was in New York—that an Anti-Slavery convention broke up in high dudgeon because a woman was put upon a committee? But that Anti-Slavery society, notwithstanding those persons who felt so sensitive withdrew from it, has lived thirty years, and to-day it has the honor of being credited as the cause of this war. Perhaps if the principle which was then at stake—that a woman had a right to be on that committee—had been waived, from the very fact that the principle of right was overruled, that society would have failed. And I would not yield one iota, one particle, to this clamor for compromise. Be it understood that it is a Woman's Rights matter; for the Woman's Rights women have the same right to dictate to a Loyal League that the Anti-Woman's Rights women have, and the side that is strongest will carry the resolution, of course. But do not withdraw it. Do not say, "We will take it away because it is objectionable."

I have another point which I wish to make. It is a very long time since I have talked in public. Of course, my thoughts don't come as consecutively as I could wish; but you will excuse the lack of arrangement, and believe me earnest, I know. I want the people to understand that this Loyal League—because it is a Loyal League—must of necessity bring in Anti-Slavery and Woman's Rights. (Applause.) Is it possible that any of you believe that

there is such a being in this country to-day as a loyal man or woman who is not anti-slavery to the backbone. (Applause.) It is a contradiction of terms. Neither is there a loyal man or woman who understands himself or herself, and whose intellect is clear enough to take in a broad, large idea, who is not to the very core a Woman's Rights man or woman. (Applause.)

Mrs. Hoyt :—As I have said before, I wish it distinctly understood, that I am not opposed to Anti-Slavery. I stand here an Abolitionist from the earliest childhood, and a stronger anti-slavery woman lives not on the soil of America. (Applause.) I voted Yea on the anti-slavery resolution, and I would vote it ten times over. But, at the same time, in the West, which I represent, there is a very strong objection to Woman's Rights ; in fact, this Woman's Rights matter is odious to some of us from the *manner* in which it has been conducted ; not that we object to the philosophy —we believe in the philosophy—but object to this matter being tacked on to a purely loyal convention. I know I stand here in about a minority of one. I see that this Convention is in the hands of ladies who have been prominent in that movement. I am sorry to see it, because I know women from our State are present this morning who will take no part if these ideas prevail, and who will go home disappointed, and feel that the object of their mission has not been accomplished. I speak for a good many others besides myself. If it is desired to have a Woman's Rights convention, a convention for that purpose may be called afterwards, purely for that purpose. I would have no objection to it at all, I would glory in it ; but I *do* object to have anything tacked on or mixed up with this that will prevent any true, loyal woman from taking part in the proceedings, and going into it heartily. (Applause.) I will make one more statement which bears upon the point which I have been trying to make. I have never before spoken except in private meetings, and therefore must ask the indulgence of the audience. The women of Madison, Wisconsin, feeling the necessity and importance of doing something more than women were doing to assist the Government in this struggle, organized a Ladies' Union League, which has been in operation some time, and is very efficient.

A Voice :—What are they doing? Please state.

Mrs. Hoyt :—When I come to that, I will tell. In Madison we had a very large and flourishing Soldiers' Aid Society. We were

the headquarters for that part of the State. A great many ladies worked in our Aid Society, and assisted us, who utterly refused to join with the Loyal League, because, they said, it would damage the Aid Society. We recognized that fact, and kept it purely distinct as a Ladies' Loyal League, for the promotion of the loyal sentiment of the North, and to reach the soldiers in the field by the most direct and practical means which were in our power. If you mix up things a good deal, and bring a great many objects into any association, it detracts from its usefulness. In the West we have labored to keep the Aid Society sacred to the hospital service, and we have succeeded. We have a great many very flourishing Ladies' Loyal Leagues throughout the West, and we have kept them sacred from Anti-Slavery, Woman's Rights, Temperance, and everything else, good though they may be. We have kept them for the one purpose of uniting and strengthening the loyal sentiment of the people. Of course, in coming to New York, I did not expect to do anything more than advise with our lady friends here. In our League we have three objects in view. The first is, retrenchment in household expenses, to the end that the material resources of the Government may be, so far as possible, applied to the entire and thorough vindication of its authority. Second, to strengthen the loyal sentiment of the people at home, and instill a deeper love of the national flag. The third and most important object is, to write to the soldiers in the field, thus reaching nearly every private in the army, to encourage him and stimulate him in the way that ladies know how to do. I state again, it is not an anti-slavery objection. I will vote for every anti-slavery movement in this Convention. I object to the Woman's Rights resolutions, and nothing else.

Ernestine L. Rose :—It is exceedingly amusing to hear persons talk about throwing out Woman's Rights, when, if it had not been for Woman's Rights, that lady would not have had the courage to stand here and say what she did. (Applause.) Pray, what means "loyal?" Loyal means to be true to one's highest conviction. Justice, like charity, begins at home. It is because we are loyal to truth, loyal to justice, loyal to right, loyal to humanity, that woman is included in that resolution. Now, what does this discussion mean? The lady acknowledges that it is not against Woman's Rights itself; she is *for* Woman's Rights. We are here to endeavor to help the cause of human rights and human freedom. We ought not to be afraid. You may depend upon it, if there are any of those who are called copperheads—but I don't like to call

names, for even a copperhead is better than no head at all—(laughter)—if there are any copperheads here, I am perfectly sure that they will object to this whole Convention ; and if we want to consult them, let us adjourn *sine die.* If we are loyal to our highest convictions, we need not care how far it may lead. For truth, like water, will find its own level. No, friends ; in the name of consistency let us not wrangle here simply because we associate the name of woman with human justice and human rights. Although I always like to see opposition on any subject, for it elicits truth much better than any speech, still I think it will be exceedingly inconsistent if, because some women out in the West are opposed to the Woman's Rights movement—though at the same time they take advantage of it—that therefore we shall throw it out of this resolution.

Mrs. Spence :—I didn't come to this meeting to participate—only to listen. I don't claim to be a Northerner or a Southerner ; but I claim to be a human being, and to belong to the human family. (Applause.) I belong to no sect or creed of politics or religion ; I stand as an individual, defending the rights of every one as far as I can see them. But now it seems to me on this occasion we have met here—taking it into consideration that there are no gentlemen in the house—(laughter)—we ladies are met here, as I understand it, to come to some unity of action. If we attempt to bring in religious, political, or moral questions, we all must of necessity differ, for the grand panorama of life shows us that we are all progressive, and necessarily must occupy different standings. Some of us have larger spheres than others, and we are necessarily different ; consequently we must leave, if possible, our highest ideas on those great questions that we call religious and moral, and see if we cannot come to one platform where we can assimilate together, and unite our sentiment in behalf of what we call our highest idea of liberty. We come here believing, if we have any patriotism in our hearts, we shall be inspired by each other, and our efforts should be to inspire each other with a unity of feeling—that inspiration going forth from the hearts of women, shall inspire the whole nation. We are to send forth the voice of encouragement. This meeting is to lay some plan by which we can unite our inspirations in the form of practical action. I have not heard such a proposition made ; but I anticipate that it will be made. (Hear, hear.) Then if we are to unite our feelings on some practical proposition which is to be presented, it seems to me that our resolutions should be practical and directed to the

main business. Let the public take them for what they are worth ; but let the object of the meeting be a unity of action and expression and spirit in behalf of what we feel to be the highest right. Let the object of this meeting be practical, and when we see it gaining control of what we feel to be moral right, we will then lift up our voices and render our veto against it.

The President :—Every good cause can afford to be just. The lady from Wisconsin, who differs from some of us here, says she is an anti-slavery woman. We ought to believe her. She accepts the principles of the Woman's Rights movement, but she does not like the way in which it has been carried on. We ought to believe her. It is not, then, that she objects to the idea of the equality of women and negroes, but because she does not wish to have anything "tacked on" to the Loyal League that, to the mass of the people, does not seem to belong here. She seems to me to stand precisely in the position of those good people just at the close of the war of the Revolution. The people then, as now, had their hearts aching with the memory of their buried dead. They had had years of war from which they had garnered out sorrows as well as hopes ; and when they came to establish a Union, they found that one black, unmitigated curse of slavery rooted in the soil. Some men said, "We can have no true Union where there is not justice to the negro. The black man is a human being, made by God like us, with the same equal rights." They had given to the world the Declaration of Independence, grand and brave and beautiful, with the word which to-day we mean to ring in the people's ears until the theory of the Government shall be applied practically. They said, "How can we form a true Union?" Some people representing the class that Mrs. Hoyt represents, answered, "Let us have a Union. We are weak ; we have been beset for seven long years ; do not let us meddle with the negro question. What we are for is a Union ; let us have a Union at all hazards." They were earnest men, men of talent, and could speak well and earnestly, and they persuaded the others to silence. So they said nothing about slavery, and let the wretched monster live. To-day, over all our land, the unburied bones of our fathers and sons and brothers tell the sad mistake that those men made when long ago they left this one great wrong in the land. They could not accomplish good by passing over a wrong. If the right of one single human being is to be disregarded by us, we fail in our loyalty to the country. All over this land women have no political

existence. Laws pass over our heads that we cannot make or unmake. Our property is taken from us without our consent. The babes we bear in anguish and carry in our arms are not ours. The few rights that we have, have been wrung from the Legislature by the Woman's Rights movement. We come to-day to say to those who are administering our Government and fighting our battles, "While you are going through this valley of humiliation, do not forget that you must be true alike to the women and the negroes." We can never be truly "loyal" if we leave them out. Leave them out, and we take the same backward step that our fathers took when they left out slavery. If justice to the negro and to woman is right, it cannot hurt our loyalty to the country and the Union. If it is not right, let it go out of the way; but if it is right, there is no occasion that we should reject it or ignore it. We make the statement that the Government derives its just powers from the consent of the governed, and that all human beings have equal rights. This is not an *ism*—it is simply an assertion that we shall be truly true to the highest truth.

A Man in the Audience :—The question was asked, as I entered this house, "Is it right for women to meet here and intermeddle in our public affairs?" It is the greatest possible absurdity for women to stand on that platform and talk of loyalty to a Government in which nine-tenths of the politicians of the land say that she has no right to interfere, and still oppose Woman's Rights. The very act of standing there is an indorsement of Woman's Rights.

A Voice :—I believe this is a woman's meeting. Men have no right to speak here.

The Gentleman continued :—It is on woman more than on man that the real evils of this war settle. It is not the soldier on the battle-field that suffers most; it is the wife, the mother, the daughter. (Applause. Cries of "Question, question.")

A Voice :—You are not a woman, sit down.

Susan B. Anthony :—Some of us who sit upon this platform have many a time been clamored down, and told that we had no right to speak, and that we were out of our places in public meetings; and God forbid, when women assemble, and a man has a thought in his soul, burning for utterance, that we should retaliate upon him. (Laughter and applause.)

The resolution was then put to vote.

A Voice :—Allow me to inquire if men have a right to vote on this question?

The President :—I suppose men who are used to business know that they should not vote here. We give them the privilege of speaking.

The resolution was carried by a majority.

Susan B. Anthony :—I desire to say that the resolution recommending the practical work to be done, has not yet been prepared. We have now a grand platform on which to stand, and I hope we shall be able to present work equally grand. But, Mrs. President, if we should fail to present a practical work at this Convention which should meet the approbation of all the loyal women of the North, we shall not fail in the one grand and great work which was needed to be done at this hour, and that was for women to enunciate the fundamental principles of democracy and republicanism, which underlie the structure of a free government. When the heads and hearts of the women of the North are fully imbued with the true idea of freedom and republicanism, their hands will find a way in which to work to secure the accomplishment of the grand idea.

There evidently is very great earnestness on the part of the women who are present here to settle upon some practical work for us of the North to do. I therefore ask that the women from every State of the Union, who are delegates here from Loyal Leagues and Aid Societies, shall retire, at the close of this meeting, to the lecture-room of this church, and there we will endeavor to fix upon the best possible thing which we can gather from the counsels of the many. I hope this enthusiasm of the women of the North, which is now manifesting itself, may be directed to good and legitimate ends, and not be allowed to evaporate into thin air, and go for nothing. I hope it will be used to good purpose, and will aid greatly in the establishment of this Government on the everlasting foundation of truth.

The President then adjourned the meeting till 8 o'clock, at the Cooper Institute.

MEETING OF THE BUSINESS COMMITTEE AND DELEGATES.

The lecture-room was crowded with representatives from the different States—Susan B. Anthony in the chair. There was a general expression in favor of forming a Women's Loyal National League, which ended in the adoption of the following resolution :

Resolved, That we, loyal women of the nation, assembled in convention in New York, this 14th day of May, 1863, do hereby pledge ourselves one to another in a Loyal League, to give support to the Government in so far as it makes the war for freedom.

Mrs. E. Cady Stanton was nominated for President, and unanimously elected, and Susan B. Anthony was elected Secretary.

Many women spoke ably and eloquently ; women who had never before heard their own voices in a public meeting, discussed nice points of law and constitution in a manner that would have done credit to any legislative assembly. A deep religious tone of loyalty to God and Freedom pervaded the entire meeting. It was an occasion not soon to be forgotten. Women of all ages were assembled there, from the matron of threescore years and ten to the fair girl whose interest in the war had brought a premature sadness and high resolve. But of all who mourned the loss of husbands, brothers, sons, and lovers, no word of fear, regret, or doubt was uttered. All declared themselves ready for any sacrifice, and expressed an unwavering faith in the glorious future of a true republic. The interest of the meeting kept up until so late an hour that it was decided to adjourn, to meet the next afternoon to complete the organization of the League.

EVENING SESSION AT THE COOPER INSTITUTE.

The meeting assembled at the appointed hour. The President introduced Susan B. Anthony, who read the following address to the President, which was subsequently adopted and ordered to be sent to the President.

THE LOYAL WOMEN OF THE COUNTRY

To His Excellency, Abraham Lincoln, *President of the United States.*

Having heard many complaints of the want of enthusiasm among Northern women in the war, we deemed it fitting to call a National Convention. From every Free State, we have received the most hearty responses of loyalty to free-

DOM, and of interest in each onward step of the Government as it approaches the idea of a true republic.

From the letters received, and the numbers assembled here to-day, we can with confidence address you in the name of the loyal women of the North.

We come not to criticise or complain. Not for ourselves or our friends do we ask redress of specific grievances, or posts of honor or emolument. We speak from no considerations of mere material gain; but, inspired by true patriotism, in this dark hour of our nation's destiny, we come to pledge the loyal women of the Republic to freedom and our country. We come to strengthen you with earnest words of sympathy and encouragement. We come to thank you for your proclamation, in which the XIXth Century seems to echo back the Declaration of Seventy-six. Our fathers had a vision of the sublime idea of liberty, equality, and fraternity; but they failed to climb the hights that with anointed eyes they saw. To us, their children, belongs the work to build up the living reality of what they conceived and uttered.

It is not our mission to criticise the past. Nations, like individuals, must blunder and repent. It is not wise to waste one energy in vain regret, but from each failure rise up with renewed conscience and courage for nobler action. The follies and faults of yesterday we cast aside as the old garments we have outgrown. Born anew to freedom, slave creeds and codes and constitutions must now all pass away. "For men do not put new wine into old bottles, else the bottles break, and the wine runneth out, and the bottles perish; but they put new wine into new bottles, and both are preserved."

Our special thanks are due to you, that by your Proclamation two million of women are freed from the foulest bondage humanity ever suffered. Slavery for man is bad enough, but the refinements of cruelty must ever fall on the mothers of the oppressed race, defrauded of all the rights of the family relation, and violated in the most holy instincts of their nature. A mother's life is bound up in that of her child. There center all her hopes and ambition. But the slave-mother, in her degradation, rejoices not in the future promise of her daughter, for she knows by experience what her sad fate must be. No pen can describe the unutterable agony of that mother whose past, present, and future are all wrapped in darkness; who knows the crown of thorns she wears must press her daughter's brow; who knows that the wine-press she now treads, unwatched, those tender feet must tread alone. For, by the law of slavery, "the child follows the condition of the mother."

By your act, the family, that great conservator of national virtue and strength, has been restored to millions of humble homes, around whose altars coming generations shall magnify and bless the name of Abraham Lincoln. By a mere stroke of the pen you have emancipated millions from a condition of wholesale concubinage. We now ask you to finish the work by declaring that nowhere under our national flag shall the motherhood of any race plead in vain for justice and protection.

So long as one slave breathes in this Republic, we drag the chain with him. God has so linked the race, man to man, that all must rise or fall together. Our history exemplifies this law. It was not enough that we at the North abolished slavery for ourselves, declared freedom of speech and the press, built up churches, colleges, and free schools, studied the science of morals, government, and economy, dignified labor, amassed wealth, whitened the sea with our commerce, and commanded the respect and admiration of the nations of the earth, so long as the

South, by the natural proclivities of slavery, was sapping the very foundations of our national life. When one-half the nation turned its back on the light of civilization, and groped through centuries of experiences to dig among heathen antiquities for its social customs and statute laws, the millstone was hung on Northern necks, and now, unless we lift the united nation up, they drag us down to feudal barbarism.

You are the first President ever borne on the shoulders of freedom into the position you now fill. Your predecessors owed their elevation to the slave oligarchy, and in serving slavery they did but obey their masters. In your election, Northern freemen threw off the yoke. And with you rests the responsibility that our necks shall never bow again. At no time in the annals of the nation has there been a more auspicious moment to retrieve the one false step of the fathers in their concessions to slavery. The Constitution has been repudiated, and the compact broken by the Southern traitors now in arms. The firing of the first gun on Sumter released the North from all constitutional obligations to slavery. It left the Government, for the first time in our history, free to carry out the Declaration of our Revolutionary fathers, and made us in fact what we have ever claimed to be, a nation of freemen.

"The Union as it was"—a compromise between barbarism and civilization—can never be restored, for the opposing principles of freedom and slavery cannot exist together. Liberty is life, and every form of government yet tried proves that slavery is death. In obedience to this law, our republic, divided and distracted by the collisions of caste and class, is tottering to its base, and can only be reconstructed on the sure foundations of impartial freedom to all men. The war in which we are involved is not the result of party or accident, but a forward step in the progress of the race never to be retraced. Revolution is no time for temporizing or a diplomacy. In a radical upheaving, the people demand eternal principles to stand upon.

Northern power and loyalty can never be measured until the purpose of the war be liberty to man; for a lasting enthusiasm is ever based on a grand idea, and unity of action demands a definite end.

At this time our greatest need is not in men or money, valiant generals or brilliant victories, but in a consistent policy, based on the principle that "all governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed." And the nation waits for you to say that there is no power under our declaration of rights, nor under any laws, human or divine, by which *free* men can be made slaves; and therefore that your pledge to the slaves is irrevocable, and shall be redeemed.

If it be true, as it is said, that Northern women lack enthusiasm in this war, the fault rests with those who have confused and confounded its policy. The page of history glows with incidents of self-sacrifice of woman in the hour of her country's danger. Fear not that the daughters of this Republic will count any sacrifice too great to insure the triumph of freedom.

Let the men who wield the nation's power be wise, brave, and magnanimous, and its women will be prompt to meet the duties of the hour with devotion and heroism.

When Frémont on the Western breeze proclaimed a day of jubilee to the bondmen in our gates, the women of the nation echoed back a loud Amen.

When Hunter freed a million men, and gave them arms to fight our battles, justice and mercy crowned that act, and tyrants stood appalled.

When Butler, in the chief city of the Southern despotism, hung a traitor, we felt a glow of pride; for that one act proved that we had a Government, and one man brave enough to administer its laws. And when Burnside would banish Vallandigham to the Dry Tortugas, let the sentence be approved, and the nation will ring with plaudits. Your Proclamation gives you immortality. Be just, and share your glory with men like these who wait to execute your will.

In behalf of the Women's National Loyal League,

ELIZABETH CADY STANTON, President.

SUSAN B. ANTHONY, Secretary.

MISS ANTHONY then read the resolutions which were passed at the morning session, after which the President introduced to the audience Rev. Antoinette Brown Blackwell, who spoke as follows:

ADDRESS OF MRS. BLACKWELL.

Possibly there may be nations, like individuals, that are without definite ideas or purposes. They sprang into being by accident, and they continue to live by the sufferance of circumstances. Our American Republic is not of this type. We were born to the heritage of one great idea; we were created by it and for it, and it is mightier than we; it must annihilate us, or it must establish us a nation as lasting as the ages.

There is a principle underlying our Government which is opposed to the foundation elements of all the other great nations of the earth. It has appeared in them all, indeed, as a component part, more or less prominent in every one of them; but many other elements were at war with it, and it was held by them in organic subordination. In ours, it was and is the foundation of the Government; and if it fall, the Republic falls.

Our ante-Revolutionary statesmen were dissatisfied with an inadequate, partial, unjust representation. The thought grew in them till it developed the broad principle of self-government by the people. They perceived and asserted that truth; they fought for it, and died or lived for it, as the case might be. So they constructed this great Republic, grounding it firmly upon a deep and wide democracy. Its frame-work was essentially democratic, but there were a few great beams, and joists, and plenty of paint and mortar used, which were just as purely aristocratic or oligarchic.

We, here at the North, have been accustomed to look at the strength of the foundations, and of the consistent massive frame-work; they, at the South, admired the incongruous ornaments and decorations, and they did not forget any of the exceptional timbers. We were shocked when the great structure seemed ready to tumble about our ears; they expected it all the time, and were

working for it, ready to perish in the general downfall, if that were inevitable. I have seen a drop of water spread over a small orifice in a layer of melting ice, which was brilliant red in color to me, but it was the intensest blue to my friend, who was standing at my side. The moral vision is quite as largely dependent upon the angle at which it receives its rays of reflected light. North and South represent the extremes of the moral spectrum. The equalizing of labor and capital, which is a beautiful violet to us, is a very angry red to them; and the soft-toned hues of their system of servitude are crimson with blood-guiltiness to ourselves. If we stood where the perfect and undivided sunbeams could fall upon us, we should see all men under the common radiance of that pure white light, of which Providence has an unlimited supply.

No more unanimity of sentiment or principle existed among our own people in the days of the first war—the War of the Revolution—than now in this last one. Democracy, asserting its rights, brought on the conflict then, though aristocracy, goaded by the instinct of self-preservation and self-interest, joined hands and aided it to its consummation. Patriotism grew in the hearts of each, and held us together as a nation for about eighty years; but the subordinate antagonism, tortured by its unnatural alliance during all those eighty years, now in turn strikes also for independence. Predominance, precedence, pre-eminence, might have satisfied it for a time; but, from the nature of our institutions, that was impossible. It encroached at every point, and was generally rewarded for its self-assertion; but it was inherently and constitutionally subordinate, and must have remained so for ever in the federation of the United States. It struck for independence, and it did well! It did all it could do, if it would not die inanely. One must always admire that instinct of the grub which leads it to weave its own winding-sheet, and lie down fearlessly in its sepulcher, preparatory to its resurrection as a butterfly; but immeasurably more to be admired is the calculating courage of men who are ready to stake their all upon any issue—even upon one so mistaken, so false, so partial to one class and so unjust to another, as the cause of the slaveholders. Every earnest purpose must have its own baptism of blessings. The rebels have proved this to us if we have ever doubted it before.

Democratic institutions are now tottering under the heavy blows of embittered and malignant opponents; democratic principles are being fiercely tested and contested in those bloody courts of the battle-ground; and the rights and capabilities of any people to govern themselves—making and maintaining law, order, and

national prosperity, with equal or better success than the tried and established monarchies, are being carried up to the higher tribunal of all nations. If verdict were rendered to-day, it would be against us! Foreigners, impelled by consistent loyalty to monarchical institutions, have been literally dinning our ears with the ungracious "I told you so!" The enemies in our midst have proved strong in defiant warfare, and copperheads are dismally foreboding that the nation, with all its special liberal ideas and institutions, has been weighed in the balances and found wanting.

Ah! we have been wanting—we, the inheritors of a sublime truth, have been grievously wanting faith in our heritage!—wanting in aim and purpose to maintain its integrity! No wonder the land is still washed with tears of the widowed and fatherless, and that stricken mothers refuse to be comforted. Give us a living principle to die for—harder task still to give up our loved ones for, while we sit waiting at home—that alone will suffice!

"Make it a war for emancipation!" cried anti-slavery England, "and our sympathies will be with you!" They demanded much; but, granted that demand, it yet falls infinitely below the real point at issue. It is immeasurably short of the great conflict which we are actually waging. It is one phase of it—the most acute phase, undoubtedly; but not, therefore, the broadest and most momentous one. Slavery was the peculiar institution of the South; but we, as a nation, have an incomparably greater peculiar institution of our own. The one is only peculiarly exceptional to our general policy; the other is essentially and organically at war with it. It is the only thing which pointedly distinguishes us from a dozen other nations. The consent of the governed is the sole, legitimate authority of any government! This is the essential peculiar creed of our Republic. That principle is on one side of this war; and the old doctrine of might makes right, which is the necessary groundwork of all monarchies or oligarchies, is on the other side. It is a life-and-death conflict between all those grand, universal, man-respecting principles, which we call by the comprehensive term democracy, and all those partial, person-respecting, class-favoring elements which we group together under that silver-slippered word, aristocracy. If this war does not mean that, it means nothing.

Slavery is malignantly aristocratic, and seems therefore to absorb all other manifestations of the principle into itself. It is Pharaoh's lean kine, which devour all the others of their species, and yet are no better favored than before. But if slavery were dead to-day, aristocracy might still grind our Republic to powder.

Men may cease to be slaves, and yet not be enfranchised. Although they are no longer bondmen, yet they may be governed without their own consent. But when you deny the universal enfranchisement of our people, you deny the one distinctive principle of our Government, and the only essential, foreordained fact in the future of our national institutions. We do not all comprehend this.

There was one who builded wiser than he knew, Emerson says, and I think that result is not uncommon. The little Indian boy in the pleasant fable, who ran on eagerly in advance of his migrating tribe, to plant his single, three-cornered beech-nut in the center of a great prairie, scarcely foresaw the many acres of heavy timber which was to confront the white pioneer hundreds of years afterwards, as the outgrowth of his childish deed. Many soldiers are fighting our battles upon a basis broader than they know. There are men who believe that they are solely engaged in putting down the rebellion; others are maintaining the disputed courage and honor of the mudsills; some are fighting to uphold our present Northern civilization and its institutions; and a handful have set out definitely to carry these into the South, to give them to the slave, and to the master also, in spite of himself. All love the Union, and are ready to fight, perhaps to die, for it. Aye! but what does that mean? Something as antagonistic in the interpretation thereof as the decisions touching an ancient oracle, a disputed Biblical text, or a knotty passage from our own venerated Constitution.

If victory should come just as she is summoned by each class of our patriotic and brave Union volunteers, would she most favor the rebels or the Government? Look at some of her conflicting purposed achievements.

1st. To preserve slavery unharmed, without so much as the smell of fire upon its garments, when it shall emerge from the ordeal of war.

2d. To gratuitously establish slavery for ever, by solemn and unchanging guarantees.

3d. To leave slavery to perish slowly and ingloriously, as it must when unprotected.

4th. To cripple and destroy slavery by a long guerrilla warfare against its special manifestations.

5th. To kill slavery at a blow, by right of an imperious and undoubted military necessity.

6th. To exterminate slavery without compromise or weighing of consequences, because it is a gross moral wrong.

These are a few of the many platforms upon which husbands, brothers, and sons are fighting to-day. No two opposing armies ever wearied Heaven with asking more impossible cross-purposes than does this fraternal, Union army of ours. The bread and fish of these, are stones and scorpions to those. We are a practical people, but we are fighting for practical paradoxes. Do we expect any massive concentration of results? Our wavering, anaconda system of warfare is typical of our moral status as a people. It is the spontaneous and legitimate exponent of our aims and motives. Many or decisive victories I despair of, till we are better educated in the early lesson of the fathers. But from the President—God bless him that he seems to be more teachable than many others—down to the youngest drummer-boy of the army, the severe discipline of this war is schooling us into a better appreciation of our heritage as a peculiar people.

And, in the benign Providence of God, though many of the living implements employed are as unconscious of it as their own cannon and muskets, yet the two mighty, underlying forces in the conflict are grappling fiercely for decisive victory. They encountered in the rudest ages, armed with battle-ax and tomahawk; civilization now aids them with her pitiless enginery of modern war. They have met disguised on many of the battle-fields of Europe; they stand uncovered in our midst to-day, as they have never done in all the world's history hitherto. The fathers gave us a new formula of the old Christ-axiom announcing the supremacy of men over institutions. Governments were made for men, not men for governments. All governments, said they, are subordinate to the people, not the people to their government. The distinct enunciation of that principle was the net result of the war of the Revolution. Born of the long-suffering and anguish of bleeding nations, its worth is yet incomparably greater than the cost, for it is the sublimest principle which has ever entered into the governmental relations of men. It must turn and overturn till, as rightful sovereign, it is placed securely upon the throne of all nations, for, from the inherent nature of things, it is destined to become the mightiest revolutionist of the ages. The reinstating of that principle in the chair of our Republic will be the net result of this war of the Rebellion!

When the statesmen of '76 sought to embody this principle in the complicated machinery of a vast government, there they partially failed. There they designedly failed. The minority seceded from it in that day as in this, and then they compromised. The antagonism which they engrafted on the young Republic, assuming

as it does, that power, not humanity, is statute-maker, could not be more diametrically opposed to the axiom which asserts, that humanity, not power, is lawful arbiter of its own rights. The man, unwashed, unmended, unlearned, is yet a safer judge of his own interests, than is all the rank, the wealth, or the wisdom of men or angels. Thomas Simms is a better witness as to his own need of freedom than the combined wisdom of all the Boston lawyers, judges, and statesmen. We can keep ice and fire upon the same planet, but it never does to bring them too near together.

A nation proclaiming to the astonished world that governments derive all just powers solely from the consent of the governed, yet in the very face of this assertion enslaved the black man, and disfranchised half its white subjects, besides minor things of like import and consistency—do you wonder that eighty years of such policy culminated in rebellion?

Old World monarchies denied our great axiom, and, copying from them, it seemed easy to uphold our anomalies. The new Republic magnanimously allowed humanity an unprecedented share of sovereignty and corresponding representation, but it assigned a portion also to sheer arbitrary power. It enfranchised many freemen, but it endowed a few slaveholders, and it went on maintaining the conflicting prerogatives of each. The secessionists hate popular franchises, they bitterly spurn the authoritative will of the majority, they strike madly for independence from democracy, and for the enthronement of privileged, arbitrary power. If they had not seceded, the very paving-stones of our streets would shortly have cried out against us! Slavery is fighting for its very existence; it must triumph or die; but it is true equally that everything which is distinctive or unique in our national institutions must triumph on its part, or it must perish ingloriously! We have no alternative. Whether the hot sirocco can melt our icebergs, till they disappear before it like mist, we shall yet see. It may be cooled itself in its progress, and chilled into quietude.

Do we expect the whole-hearted sympathy of any monarchy or oligarchy? Cannot they see also that two entire opposing civilizations are mustered into the conflict? They may hate slavery, and since we have found the courage to point our cannon more directly against the heart of that, they may rejoice so far; but do they desire to establish the subordination of any government to the rights of the very meanest of its subjects? Are they in love with our plebeian heresy, that all the magnificent civil machinery of nations is but so much base clay in the hands of the multitude of royal potters? We are now testing the practical possibilities

of democratic theories ; and there are those who would a thousand times rather see these shattered into hopeless fragments than to see any other result which could possibly transpire in the national affairs of all Christendom. Let our democracy prove shallow, weak, inefficient, unfitted for emergencies, and incapable of sustaining itself under the test of determined opposition, to them it is enough. Our great national axiom is, *per se*, the eternal foe of all monarchies, aristocracies, oligarchies, of all possible despotism ; because it is the fulcrum of a mighty lever which must one day overturn them all, if it be not itself jostled from its resting-place.

What are we to do with our conquered provinces of the South ? Give them all the franchises which we hold ourselves, assuredly—as many personal rights and as many state rights—provided always that they cease to encroach upon our liberties, and are no longer rebels against the common Government. Now that the issue is forced upon us, and in spite of our wishes, let us apply our principles unsparingly to all, and conclude by making the slaves, men and women too, as free and equal in all civil functions as their male masters. Secretary Chase has seized the occasion of our heavy financial troubles to give us a general national banking system ; so out of the nettle Danger to our liberal institutions let us pluck the flower Safety to the interest of the feeblest subject. It is thus that the darkest evil is often made nurse to the brightest good. The black mud at its roots nourishes the pure white water-lily. When the Southern people, white and black, male and female, are all voters together, by simple virtue of their human needs and rights, then, but not till then, I for one will consent to their freely voting themselves into an independent nation, if they are so disposed. Even then, democracy requires that the question shall be decided by the suffrages of the whole country, North as well as South. A republic can never be dismembered except by the consent of a majority of all its subjects. Our present extremity will prove the Divine opportunity of impartial justice to the most helpless and oppressed of our citizens if we desire this.

It is now patent to the world that the "Model Republic" has been very much divided against itself. Can we ever hope to go on peacefully serving two such very different masters ? The opposing principles are now cast together into the furnace heated seven times by the quickened animosity of those who were once friends and brothers ; they must be burned to dross, or come out gloriously purified, and more desirable and beautiful than ever heretofore. I know nothing of how long, how severe, or how lossful

may be the fiery process. The whole of Secessia may even melt away in the crucible, and become no more to us than so much lead, always ready to grapple itself to our ship of state, and sink us at the first opportunity ; but I do know that there is such an untold wealth of solid gold in genuine democracy, that it will yet emerge from its ordeal the admiration of all nations, the terror of all tyrannies, and the hope of all lovers of civil liberty. With or without the South, this Republic shall be stronger ten years hence than in the strength of its palmiest days.

But we have no idea of lopping off the offending member. Let us bear with it, and heal its infirmities, even if we are forced to apply the severest remedies, and to suffer cruelly ourselves from the sympathetic agony. We should be cowards to do otherwise. We, as women, are even content to wait, if need be, for our own enfranchisement ; but we know that this will come also ! This last, plain application of an accepted principle, must be one day acknowledged. The opening buds of this promise, in this the spring-time of our nation, are already bursting into leaf and flower ; and we know that the ripened fruit will come in due time. Therefore we can pray and labor heartily for the immediate right, in this our sorrowful civil war. Grievous as it is, let it never cease until America is consecrated anew to freedom ! We prize peace more than ease, or wealth, or life, but less than liberty !

Mrs. Ernestine L. Rose, a native of Poland, was next introduced.

SPEECH OF ERNESTINE L. ROSE.

Louis Kossuth told us it is not well to look back for regret, but only for instruction. I therefore intend slightly to cast my mind's eye back for the purpose of gaining instruction to enable us, as far as possible, to contemplate the present and foresee the future. It is unnecessary to point out the cause of this war. It s written on every object we behold. It is but too well understood that the primary cause is Slavery ; and it is well to keep that in mind, for the purpose of gaining the knowledge how ultimately to be able to crush that terrible rebellion which nearly desolates the land. Slavery being the cause of the war, we must look to the utter extinction of slavery for the remedy. Without the entire and complete destruction of every vestige of slavery, we can have no peace. (Applause.)

We have listened this evening to an exceedingly instructive, kind, and gentle address, particularly that part of it which tells

how to deal with the South after we have brought them back. But I think it would be well, first, to consider how to bring them back!!

Abraham Lincoln has issued a Proclamation. He has emancipated all the slaves of the rebel states with his pen, but that is all. He has not emancipated them actually; he has simply pronounced them free. To set them really and thoroughly free, we will have, I fear, to use some other instrument than the pen. (Applause.) The slave is not emancipated; he is not free. A gentleman once found himself of a sudden, without, so far as he knew, any cause, taken into prison. He sent for his lawyer, and told him, "They have taken me to prison." "What have you done?" said the lawyer. "I have done nothing," he replied. "Then, my friend, they cannot put you in prison if you have done nothing." "But I am in prison." "Well, that may be; but I tell you, my dear friend, they cannot put you in prison." "Well," said he, "I want you to come and take me out, for I tell you, in spite of all your lawyer logic, I am in prison, and I shall be until you take me out." (Great laughter.) Now the poor slave has to say, "Abraham Lincoln, you have with your pen pronounced me free; but you may call me free from this till doomsday, still I am a slave, bought and sold as such, and I shall remain a slave till I am taken out of this horrible condition." Then the question is, *How?* Have not already two long years passed over more than a quarter of a million of the graves of the noblest and bravest of the nation? Alas, yes; and is that not enough? No; it has proved not to be enough. Now, let us look back for a moment. Had the Proclamation of John C. Fremont been allowed to have its effect; had the edict of Hunter been allowed to have its effect, the war would have been over. (Applause.) Had the people and the Government, from the very commencement of the struggle, said to the South, "You have openly thrown down the gauntlet to fight for Slavery; we will accept it, and fight for Freedom," the rebellion would long before now have been crushed. (Applause.) You may blame Europe as much as you please, but the heart of Europe beats for freedom. Had they seen us here accept the terrible alternative of war for the sake of freedom, the whole heart of Europe would have been with us. But such has not been the case. Hence the destruction of over a quarter of a million of lives and ten millions of broken hearts that have already paid the penalty; and we know not how many more it needs to wipe out the stain of that recreancy that did not at once proclaim this war a war for freedom and humanity. And now we have got

here all around us Loyal Leagues. Loyal to what? What does it mean? I have read that term in the papers. A great many times I have heard that expression to-day. I know not what others mean by it, but I will give you my interpretation of what I am loyal to. I speak for myself. I do not wish any one else to be responsible for my opinions. I am loyal only to justice and humanity. Let the Administration give evidence that they too are for justice to all, without exception, without distinction, and I, for one, had I ten thousand lives, would gladly lay them down to secure this boon of freedom to humanity. (Applause.) But without this certainty, I am not unconditionally loyal to the Administration. We women need not be, for the law has never yet recognized us. (Laughter.) Then I say to Abraham Lincoln, "Give us security for the future, for really when I look at the past, without a guarantee, I can hardly trust you." And then I would say to him, "Let nothing stand in your way; let no name obstruct your path." Much is said in the papers and in political speeches about the Constitution. Now, a good constitution is a very good thing; but even the best of constitutions need sometimes to be amended and improved, for after all there is but one constitution which is infallible, but one constitution that ought to be held sacred, and that is the human constitution. (Laughter.) Therefore, if written constitutions are in the way of human freedom, suspend them till they can be improved. If generals are in the way of freedom, suspend them too; and more than that, suspend their money. We have got here a whole army of generals who have been actually dismissed from the service, but not from pay. Now I say to Abraham Lincoln, if these generals are good for anything, if they are fit to take the lead, put them at the head of armies, and let them go South and free the slaves you have announced free. If they are good for nothing, dispose of them as of anything else that is useless. At all events, cut them loose from the pay. (Applause.) Why, my friends, from July, 1861, to October, 1862—for sixteen long months—we have been electrified with the name of our great little Napoleon! And what has the great little Napoleon done? (Laughter.) Why, he has done just enough to prevent anybody else from doing anything. (Great applause.) But I have no quarrel with him. I don't know him. I presume none of you do. But I ask Abraham Lincoln—I like to go to headquarters, for where the greatest power is assumed there the greatest responsibility rests, and in accordance with that principle I have nothing to do with menials, even though they are styled Napoleons—but I ask the President

why McClellan was kept in the army so long after it was known—for there never was a time when anything else was known—that he was both incapable and unwilling to do anything? I refer to this for the purpose of coming, by-and-by, to the question, "What ought to be done?" He was kept at the head of the army on the Potomac just long enough to prevent Burnside from doing anything, and not much has been done since that time. Now, McClellan may be a very nice young man—I haven't the slightest doubt of it—but I have read a little anecdote of him. Somebody asked the president of a Western railroad company, in which McClellan was an engineer, what he thought about his abilities. "Well," said the president, "he is a first-rate man to build bridges; he is very exact, very mathematical in measurement, very precise in adjusting the timber; he is the best man in the world to build a good, strong, sound bridge, but after he has finished it, he never wishes anybody to cross over it." (Great laughter.) Well, we have disposed of him partially, but we PAY him yet, and you and I are taxed for it. But if we are to have a new general in his place, we may ask, what has become of Sigel? Why does that disinterested, noble-minded, freedom-loving man in vain ask of the Administration to give him an army to lead into the field?

A VOICE :—"Ask Halleck."

Halleck! If Halleck is in the way, dispose of him. (Applause.) Do you point me to the Cabinet? If the Cabinet is in the way of freedom, dispose of the Cabinet—(applause)—some of them, at least. The magnitude of this war has never yet been fully felt or acknowledged by the Cabinet. The man at the head of the Cabinet—I mean Seward—has hardly yet woke up to the reality that we have a war. He was going to crush the rebellion in sixty days. It was a mere *bagatelle!* Why, he could do it after dinner, any day, as easy as taking a bottle of wine! If Seward is in the way of crushing the rebellion and establishing freedom, dispose of him. From the cause of the war, learn the remedy, decide as to the object, lay down the policy, and place it in the hands of men capable and willing to carry it out. I am not unconditionally loyal, until we know to what principle we are to be loyal. Promise justice and freedom, and all the rest will follow. Do you know, my friends, what will take place if something decisive is not soon done? It is high time to consider it. I am not one of those who look on the darkest side of things, but yet my reason and reflec-

tion forbid me to hope against hope. It is only eighteen months more before another Presidential election—only one year before another President will be nominated. Let the present Administration remain as indolent, as inactive, and, apparently, as indifferent as they have done ; let them keep generals that are inferior to many of their private soldiers ; let them keep the best generals there are in the country—Sigel and Frémont—unoccupied (applause) ; let them keep the country in the same condition in which it has been the last two years, and is now, and what would be the result, if, at the next election, the Democrats succeed—I mean the sham Democrats? I am a democrat, and it is because I am a democrat that I go for human freedom. Human freedom and true democracy are identical. Let the Democrats, as they are now called, get into office, and what would be the consequence? Why, under this hue-and-cry for Union, *Union*, Union, which is like a bait held out to the mass of the people to lure them on, they will grant to the South the meanest and the most contemptible compromises that the worst slaveholders in the South can require. And if they really accept them and come back—my only hope is that they will not—but if the South should accept these compromises, and come back, slavery will be fastened, not only in the South, but it will be nationally fastened on the North. Now, a good Union, like a good Constitution, is a most invaluable thing ; but a false Union is infinitely more despicable than no Union at all ; and for myself, I would vastly prefer to have the South remain independent, than to bring them back with that eternal curse nationalized in the country. It is not enough for Abraham Lincoln to proclaim the slaves in the South free, nor even to continue the war until they shall be really free. There is something to be done at home ; for justice, like charity, must begin at home. It is a mockery to say that we emancipate the slaves we cannot reach and pass by those we can reach. First, free the slaves that are under the flag of the Union. If that flag is the symbol of freedom, let it wave over free men only. The slaves must be freed in the Border States. Consistency is a great power. What are you afraid of? That the Border States will join with the now crippled rebel States? We have our army there, and the North can swell its armies. But we cannot afford to fight without an object. We cannot afford to bring the South back with slavery. We cannot compromise with principle. What has brought on this war? Slavery, undoubtedly. Slavery was the primary cause of it. But the great secondary cause was the fact that the North, for the sake of the Union, has constantly compromised. Every demand

that the South made of the North was acceded to, until the South came really to believe that they were the natural and legitimate masters, not only of the slaves, but of the North, too.

Now, it is time to reverse all these things. This rebellion and this war have cost too dear. The money spent, the vast stores destroyed, the tears shed, the lives sacrificed, the hearts broken, are too high a price to be paid for the mere *name* of Union. I never believed we had a Union. If we had had a true Union, it never would have been dissolved, it never would have been torn asunder as it is now. A true Union is based upon principles of mutual interest, of mutual respect and reciprocity, none of which ever existed between the North and South. They had based their institutions on slavery; the North on freedom—professedly, at least, though never entirely.

I care not by what measure you end the war, if you allow one single germ, one single seed of slavery to remain in the soil of America, whatever may be your object, depend upon it, as true as effect follows cause, that germ will spring up, that noxious weed will thrive, and again stifle the growth, wither the leaves, blast the flowers, and poison the fair fruits of freedom. Slavery and freedom cannot exist together. Seward proclaimed a truism, but he did not appreciate its import. There is an eternal war between freedom and slavery. The two cannot harmonize. You might as well say that light and darkness can exist together as freedom and slavery. We, therefore, must urge the Government to do something, and that speedily, to secure the boon of freedom, while they yet can, not only in the rebel States, but in our own States, too, and in the Border States. It is just as wrong for us to keep slaves in the Union States as it ever was in the South. Slavery is as great a curse to the slaveholder as it is a wrong to the slaves; and yet while we free the rebel slaveholder from the curse, we allow it to continue with our Union-loving men in the Border States. Free the slaves in the Border States, in Western Virginia, in Maryland, and wherever the Union flag floats, and then there will be a consistency in our actions that will enable us to go to work earnestly with heart and hand united, as we move to free all others, and crush the rebellion. A man cannot act intelligently until he perceives distinctly the object to be attained. And then, according to the magnitude of the object, are his energy, power, and perseverance called into action.

Now, we have had no energy yet in the war, for we have only fought for the purpose of reuniting what has never been united—restoring the old Union—viz., the shadow as it was. But let us

work for freedom. Let everything else subside till that is gained. Let everything else be subordinate to that great object. Let everything else be lost to save freedom ; then we will have power and energy. A small republic, a small nation, based upon the eternal principle of freedom, is great and powerful and noble. A large empire based upon slavery, is weak and mean. It is the most helpless thing. The moment the light of freedom shines upon it, it discloses its defects, and unmasks its hideous deformities. As I said before, I would rather have a small republic without the taint and without the stain of slavery in it, than to have the South brought back by compromise. To avert such calamity, we must work. And our work must mainly be to watch, and criticise, and urge the Administration to do its whole duty to freedom and humanity. (Applause.)

The President then said :

I suppose all the loyal women will agree with me that we owe to the President and the Government in these hours of trial, whether they make mistakes or whether they do not, words of cheer and encouragement ; and, as events occur one after another, our criticisms should not be harshly made. When we find willful departure from what is just and true, when we find treason, we should not hesitate to speak the word of strongest denunciation against both the treason and the traitor. But where there is evident intention to be and to do right, where there is loyalty, there all good men and all good women should give a word of cheer and encouragement.

But I merely rose to say, before the adjournment, that to-morrow afternoon, at 3 o'clock, the women will remember the meeting at Dr. Cheever's Lecture-Room, to consider further and complete the organization of the Women's Loyal National League.

The meeting then adjourned.

New York Tribune's Report of the Adjourned Business Meeting of the Women's Loyal National League, held Friday Afternoon, May 15, 1863.

The Business Committee of the Loyal League of Women, with a number of ladies who take an interest in the formation of such a society, met yesterday afternoon in the Lecture-Room of the Church of the Puritans, for the purpose of agreeing upon some definite platform, and of determining the future operations of the League.

Miss Susan B. Anthony, as President of the Business Committee, took the chair, and at 3 o'clock called the meeting to order.

Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton rose to decline accepting the nomination she had received on Thursday, as President of the League. She could not pledge herself to unconditional loyalty to the Government—certainly not if the Government took any retrogressive step. As President of the National League, many might object to her on account of what they termed her *isms*, her radical Anti-Slavery and Woman's Rights, her demand for liberty and equality for women and negroes. She desired the vote by which she had been made President might be reconsidered.

Miss Anthony thought there were fears of the Government retrogressing in the policy of Freedom. The question is every day discussed in the papers as to what terms the South shall be received back again. She could not be Secretary of a League which was pledged to unconditional loyalty to the Government, until the Government was pledged to unconditional loyalty to Freedom. Miss Anthony then read the following pledge and resolutions, which had, on Thursday, been partially agreed to:

THE PLEDGE.

We, the undersigned women of the nation, do hereby pledge ourselves loyal to justice and humanity, and to the Government in so far as it makes the war a war for freedom.

RESOLUTIONS.

Resolved, That we rejoice in the local Women's Leagues already formed, and earnestly recommend their organization throughout the country; and that we urge the women everywhere to take the highest ground of patriotism—our country right, not wrong.

Resolved, That we hail the Conscription Act as necessary for the salvation of the country, and cheerfully resign to it our husbands, lovers, brothers, and sons.

Resolved, That inasmuch as this war must bring freedom to the black man, it is but just that he should share in the glory and hardships of the struggle.

Miss Anthony explained what a National League was, and what business and pecuniary responsibilities it entailed.

Mrs. A. G. Weld suggested that before entering on other matters, the question of officers should be settled.

Miss Anthony:—Will some one put the motion?

Mrs. Loveland took the floor. She stated that she had come there the day before with one idea—only one—and that she retained that one idea still, and that was that the women of the nation should pledge themselves to stand by the Conscription Act. Mrs. Loveland trusted that the League would co-operate with the laws of the land, and strengthen the hands of the President in his efforts to vigorously prosecute the war. She thought the Government had made great advances in the path of progress. If the pledge required the war to be waged for freedom, that was all that was

necessary. It would be desirable to secure the experience and ability of Mrs. Stanton and Miss Anthony in the offices to which they had been elected. She did not believe their *isms* would do any hurt; they were earnest and efficient workers, and the League needed them.

Miss WILLARD of Pa. thought there was a way to get over the difficulty. The pledge is conditional to the extent of requiring the war to be a war for freedom. Miss Willard said she was a true patriot. She loved her country. She had borne with its defects, though she confessed she had sometimes desired to remove them. She believed in sustaining the Government, though if Vallandigham should chance to be elected President she really didn't know what she should do.

Incredulity was very generally manifested as to the possibility of Vallandigham ever becoming President, but Miss Anthony exclaimed that "the next President would probably be something like him."

Miss WILLARD seemed to think that the pledge offered would do under the existing Administration. When there is a change, they can have another League. She believed if the President was slow he was sure, and that he was the Moses who was to lead this people to their promised land of freedom.

Several desultory remarks were made in the audience. Presently an elderly lady—a Mrs. Magimley—arose and expressed her opinions. She had confidence in Mr. Lincoln, but denounced Gen. Banks, who, she said, was a hero in one place and a slave-driver in another. As next President, we may get a ditch-digger—(Mrs. M. evidently intended this as a sly allusion to a distinguished military chieftain)—and then what are we to do? She wished to know who, loving the black man, could take this pledge?

Miss ANTHONY read the pledge over previous to putting it on its passage. It was adopted without opposition.

Miss ANTHONY read the resolutions again.

Mrs. SPENCE asked if the Government had acted in a way to inspire confidence. She was not satisfied with the Emancipation Proclamation.

Mrs. STANTON had faith that the Government was moving in the right direction.

Mrs. SPENCE objected to Mr. Lincoln's grounds for using the Proclamation.

Mrs. WELD stated that he said he did it on the ground of justice.

Miss WILLARD believed Mr. Lincoln was working as fast as he could. A man going a journey of a mile did not do it all in one jump. He had to get over the ground step by step. Just so with the President. We must not expect him to do all at once.

The first resolution was unanimously passed. The resolution in regard to the Conscription was then taken up.

Mrs. SPENCE asked (for information) whether they were willing to receive the Conscription law as it was? What did they think of the $300 clause about substitutes? Some lovers (Mrs. Spence said lovers, not husbands) would certainly buy themselves off.

Mrs. STANTON would accept the Conscription law because it was necessary—not because it was just in all its provisions.

Mrs. SPENCE:—If your husbands propose to pay $300, would you urge them to go themselves?

Mrs. STANTON:—We shall urge them to go as to the post of glory.

Mrs. LOVELAND would urge her husband. She was very severe on the skedaddlers to Canada and Europe. Still, all the European conscription laws permitted some kind of substitution. Her idea was that as the men must go to the war now, the women should give tone to its music.

A LADY:—If the men would give themselves, why not freely? Is a conscription itself consistent with freedom?

Miss WILLARD, while believing in certain cases of exemption, liked the conscription because it would take in the copperheads. (Applause.)

THE LADY:—What kind of soldiers would copperheads make?

Mrs. LOVELAND:—Good soldiers! Men who have the courage they have to brave public opinion, would make good soldiers if put in the ranks with bayonets behind them. (Applause.)

Mr. GILES B. STEBBINS of Rochester reported, as information, the mistake lately made in *The N. Y. Times* that the $300 substitution indemnity was in the discretion of the Secretary of War.

The resolution was thereupon moved by Miss WILLARD, seconded by Mrs. STANTON, and passed unanimously.

Mrs. WELD then read an address from the League to the soldiers, which, at the request of the Business Committee, she had prepared. Hereafter when revised, this address will be published.

ADDRESS TO THE SOLDIERS, PREPARED BY ANGELINA GRIMKE WELD.

SOLDIERS OF OUR SECOND REVOLUTION:

BRETHREN: A thousand of your sisters, in a Convention representing the Loyal Women of the Nation, greet you with profound gratitude. Your struggles, sufferings, daring, heroic self-devotion, and sublime achievements, we exult in them all.

To you, especially, whose terms of service have expired, or are soon to expire, we desire to speak of the shifting scenes now acting in the Nation's Tragedy. This war of slavery against freedom did not begin with the first shot at Sumter, it did not begin when the slaveocracy broke up the Charleston Convention, in order to secure the election of Mr. Lincoln, and thus palm upon the Southern masses a false pretense for rebellion. It did not begin with nullification in 1832, nor in the Convention that framed the Federal Constitution; nor yet in that which adopted the Articles of Confederation; but it began in 1620, when the Mayflower landed our fathers on Plymouth Rock, and the first slave-ship landed its human cargo in Virginia. Then, for the first time, liberty and slavery stood face to face on this continent. From then till now, these antagonisms have struggled in incessant conflict. Two years since, the slaveocracy, true to their instincts of violence, after long and secret plotting, crowned their perfidy by perjury, by piratical seizures of Government property that cost $100,000,000, and then burst into open rebellion.

This war is not, as the South falsely pretends, a war of races, nor of sections, nor of political parties, but a war of PRINCIPLES; a war upon the working-classes,

whether white or black; a war against *Man*, the world over. In this war, the black man was the first victim; the working-man of whatever color the next; and now *all* who contend for the rights of labor, for free speech, free schools, free suffrage, and a free government, securing to *all* life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, are driven to do battle in defense of these or to fall with them, victims of the same violence that for two centuries has held the black man a prisoner of war. While the South has waged this war against human rights, the North has stood by holding the garments of those who were stoning liberty to death. It was in vain that a few at the North denounced the system, and called the people to repentance. In vain did they point to the progress of the slave power, and warn the people that their own liberties were being cloven down. The North still went on, throwing sop after sop to the Cerberus of slavery that hounded her through the wilderness of concession and compromise, until the crash of Sumter taught her that with the slaveocracy *no* rights are sacred. The Government, attacked by assassins, was forced to fight for its own life. The progress of the war has proved that slavery is the life-blood of the rebellion. Hence the necessity of the President's Proclamation of Freedom to the slaves.

The nation is in a death-struggle. It must either become one vast slaveocracy of petty tyrants, or wholly the land of the free. The traitors boast that they have swept from the national firmament one-third of its stars, but they have only darkened them with clouds, which the sun of liberty will scatter, revealing behind them the eternal pillars of Justice, emblazoned with liberty, equality, fraternity.

Soldiers of this revolution, to your hands is committed the sacred duty of carrying out in these latter days the ideal of our fathers, which was to secure to ALL "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," and to every State "a republican form of government." To break the power of this rebellion, calls for every available force. You know how extensively black men are now being armed. Some regiments are already in the field; twenty more are now under drill. Will you not, in this hour of national peril, gratefully welcome the aid which they so eagerly proffer, to overthrow that slave power which has so long ruled the North, and now, that you spurn its sway, is bent on crushing YOU? Will you not abjure that vulgar hate which has conspired with slavery against liberty in our land, and thus roll from the sepulcher, where they have buried it alive, the stone which has so long imprisoned their victim? The army of the North will thus become the angel of deliverance, rescuing the nation from the shifting sands of compromise, and refounding it upon the rock of justice.

Some of you have been mustered out of service; many more are soon to return to your homes. All hail to you! Honor and gratitude for what you have done and suffered! Enough *if* you have only been fighting for the Union as it *was*. But is it enough, if the work for which the war is *now* prosecuted is not accomplished? Your country needs your power of soldierly endurance and accomplishment, your hard-earned experience, your varied tact and trained skill, your practiced eye and hand—in a word, all that makes you veterans, ripe in discipline and educated power. Raw recruits *cannot* fill your places. Brave men! your mission, though far advanced, is *not* accomplished. You will not, cannot, abide at home, while your brethren in arms carry victory and liberty down to the Gulf.

With joy and admiration we greet you on your homeward way, while your loved ones await your coming with mingled delight and pride. When, after a brief sojourn, you go back again, conveyed by the grateful acclaim and God-speed of millions, to consummate at Freedom's call her holy work, the mightiest of all

time, and now so near its end, with exultant shouts your brothers in the field will hail your coming to share with them the glory of the final victory. It will be the victory of free government, sacred rights, justice, liberty, and law, over the perfidies, perjuries, lying pretenses, and frantic revelries in innocent blood, of the foulest national crime that ever reeked to Heaven—the overthrow of the most atrocious yet the meanest despotism that ever tortured the groaning earth.

In behalf of the Women's National Loyal League.

E. CADY STANTON, President.

SUSAN B. ANTHONY, Secretary.

MRS. STANTON :—I suppose it is known to all present that Angelina Grimke Weld is the representative from South Carolina. Contrast her eloquent pleadings for freedom, throughout the sittings of our Convention, with the voice of South Carolina, when, at the framing of the Constitution, slavery, with its cruel creeds and codes, was fastened on the Republic just struggling into life. Here, for the first time in our history, have the women of the nation assembled to discuss the political questions of the day, and to decide where and how to throw the weight of their influence. I am proud to feel that from this meeting goes forth a united demand for freedom to all, for a TRUE REPUBLIC, in which the rights of every citizen shall be recognized and protected.

MRS. LOVELAND hoped the sailors would be included in the address. They never refused to go aloft because a black man was going at the same time.

After some remarks by Mrs. STANTON, Miss ANTHONY offered for discussion what may be called

THE PLATFORM OF THE LEAGUE.

Resolved, That our work as a National League is to educate the nation into the true idea of a Christian Republic.

This is the resolve finally adopted. Considerable preliminary debate, in which many ladies joined, took place on details of form and phraseology. The resolve as it stands was constructed by Mrs. Stanton, with the exception of the word "Christian."

There was an earnest discussion on the introduction of the word Christian ; some argued that a *true Republic*, where every human being's rights were recognized, could but be Christian. A Mrs. M'Farland seemed to settle the question, by stating a fact of history, that in olden times there were Pagan Republics.

Miss ANTHONY said :—No matter if it were a mere tautology : it required repetition to make this nation, so steeped in crime against humanity, understand. She then spoke of the awful lie of this nation, in naming itself Civilized, Republican, Christian, while it had made barter of men and women, bought and sold children of the Good Father, and paid their price to send missionaries to the Fejee Islands and the remotest corners of the earth, while it stood bound to fine and imprison any man or woman who should teach any one of *four millions* of its own citizens at home to read the letters that spell the word God. It would take long years to educate this nation into the idea and PRACTICE of a true, Christian Republic. It was a momentous work the women of this National Loyal League had undertaken. And she hoped one and all would take in its full import, and dedicate themselves fully and earnestly to the work.

The following persons were then nominated and elected as an Executive Committee :

MATTIE GRIFFITH,	Mrs. MARY F. GILBERT,
Mrs. B. PETERS,	Mrs. E. M. WARD, M.D.
Mrs. E. S. LOZIER, M.D.,	Mrs. MARY A. HALSTED.

On motion, the Executive Committee were authorized to fill up the other offices, and fix upon the first work to be undertaken by the National League and its auxiliaries.

The meeting then adjourned.

APPENDIX.

Letters in Response to the Call for Meeting of the Loyal Women of the Country.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

Hampton, N. H., May 4, 1863.

Miss Anthony:

Dear Madam:—I cheerfully respond to the call, published in *The Liberator*, to the loyal women of the North, to meet on the 14th inst. I am sensible that you will have responses from many whose words will be more potent, and who can do braver deeds than I can do. But I want to add my feeble testimony, notwithstanding, to encourage this first effort of American women, in a national capacity, to sustain the Government, and help guide it through the perils which threaten its existence, thus demonstrating not only their loyalty, but their ability to understand its genius; the quickness of their perception of the cause and also of the remedies of the dangers which imperil the nation; and also their fitness to be admitted to take part in its deliberations. Not long since, men here at the North—loyal men—men who were not in favor of slavery, denied that they had any responsibility in regard to its existence. Marvelous, that they could not see that slavery is a moral pestilence, poisoning all the fountains of society, spreading infections over all the nation. Now the war teaches them that they have a responsibility, and that it would have been better had they seen it earlier. The right to take any responsibility in regard to it was denied to woman; it was out of her sphere; it ran into politics, which were unfit for woman, and into governmental affairs, which she was supposed incompetent to comprehend. But this painful hour of warfare crowds home upon us the conviction that woman's interests equally with man's are imminently imperiled—private as well as public, individual as well as social. She must not only consent to the sacrifice of husbands and sons falling in their blood on the enemy's ground; but failing to conquer them there, these enemies are eager to change the scene of action, transfer the battle-field to our own doors, spread death and devastation, and then establish slavery as a legacy to us. Yes, let it be shown and sent home to the hearts of those who shall meet, that woman is equally interested and responsible with man in the final settlement of this problem of self-government. From this hour, so pregnant with great issues, I trust the conviction will be clearer and more universal of the necessity of educating women in this problem of self-government, enforcing her obligations to acquire those qualifications requisite for her active participation in all its grand moral movements.

We cannot believe that the enemies of Humanity and Freedom are to triumph ultimately. But the hour of their defeat is not yet. The

words of Christ eighteen hundred years ago are as appropriate now as then—"This is your hour and the power of darkness." The great plan must be fulfilled. The wrong and the guilt is not all at the South; we must be kept in the crucible yet awhile. We at the North must be threshed and winnowed more thoroughly; but the true seed will be safely gathered up, and bear a glorious harvest in the coming ages.

Wishing that the women of every state may be largely represented by earnest and faithful representatives, able to give wise counsel and efficient action, I am very cordially with you in spirit,

CLARISSA G. OLDS.

BRADFORD, N. H., May 10, 1863.

MRS. STANTON:

MY DEAR MADAM:—Lying here upon my sick bed, I wish to thank you for myself, and for thousands of women in our state, who may perhaps remain silent, for the clarion call you have rung through the land for a Convention of the loyal women of the nation, to be held at New York on the 14th of the present month. God bless you for the rallying cry, and may there be such a gathering of patriotic women as the times demand. I do not know how it will be, but I trust the women of our State will be well and largely represented. I must believe that the women nurtured among our granite hills are ready for all earnest work and brave self-sacrifice, to help bear up and on the banner of freedom, till it waves in victory over all our beloved country.

There was never before a time when it seemed so hard to be sick, one so much wishes to be able to do all the heart prompts, but I can now only wish you a hearty God-speed in all noble and patriotic efforts.

Truly yours,

MARY J. TAPPAN.

DERRY, N. H.

We rejoice that a call has been made to the women of our country to do something, in the great hour of her need and peril. They are generally too indifferent to her success or failure, lack zeal and earnestness, and need enlightenment on the true state of this contest. It is not a mere matter of triumph of arms, but of principle, which will affect us and future generations.

H. T. AND M. ADAMS.

VERMONT.

RANDOLPH, VT., May 9, A.D. 1863.

THE LADIES OF RANDOLPH TO THE LOYAL LADIES ASSEMBLED AT NEW YORK, SEND GREETING:

Thrillingly interested in all that concerns the great cause in which we, who love the inheritance our fathers bought for us at such a price of life

and treasure, are now all embarked, the ladies of our Association desire, on this occasion, to manifest to you their *oneness* of *spirit* with you for everything that may promote loyal devotion to our country.

We who have offered up on her altars what is dearer to us than life—our fathers, husbands, sons, and brothers—so that almost every home has made its sacrifice, and the blood of many from among us has already been shed, while others come back crippled for life—need hardly tell you that we are of one heart and mind with them, and ready to be bound and offered up too.

May the God of our fathers hear our cry, and save our beloved country from those who would destroy all her liberties.

We commend you to Him. Let us with one accord throw ourselves upon His strong right arm. "Through Him we shall do valiantly, for He it is that shall tread down our enemies."

Very truly yours,

MRS. R. PARKINSON.

In behalf of the Ladies' Aid Society.

MASSACHUSETTS.

PITTSFIELD, May 12, 1863.

MRS. SUSAN B. ANTHONY:

DEAR MADAM:—In response to the thrilling and patriotic address of Mrs. "E. C. Stanton on behalf of the Women's Central Committee," accompanying the "Call for a Meeting of the Loyal Women of the Nation on the 14th inst.," I beg leave to say that my heart is with you in the great work of crushing the rebellion.

Our strength, clearly, is not "to sit still" at a time like the present. Although much has already been done by the women at the North, in their subordinate sphere, for the relief and comfort of the soldiers, yet the supineness of many of our sex has exposed us all to rebukes.

We hear of the enthusiasm of women at the South in aid of the Slaveholders' Rebellion, and can form some estimate of the "fierceness of their wrath;" but, God be thanked, the days approach when their mad passions will recoil upon themselves—the days approach when their evil cause must die. Let us unitedly pledge ourselves to stand by the Government, and approve ourselves unto it by works of righteousness, in our legitimate sphere, and *out of it*, if needs be. Let us, with womanly zeal, help to crush the power of its iniquitous assailants, remembering that the name of woman is in the list with those who "subdued kingdoms, wrought righteousness, obtained promises, stopped the mouths of lions, quenched the violence of fire, escaped the edge of the sword, out of weakness were made strong, waxed valiant in fight, turned to flight the armies of the aliens."

Shall we not, in this "crisis of our country's destiny," imitate the example of these heroic worthies, if "hereunto we are called?"

Very truly yours,

MRS. SARAH R. BARNES.

Worcester, April 20, 1863.

Dear Susan:—I see your call to the loyal women. Will you let me know distinctly if you propose to commit yourselves to the idea of loyalty to the present Government? I cannot believe you do. But to me there is something equivocal in the call, if it does not mean that. I am sorry it is not explicit on that point.

You and I believe if the present Administration had done its duty, the rebellion would have been put down long ago. Hence, we hold it with its supporters responsible for the terrible waste of treasure and of blood thus far, and for that which is to follow. It needs strong rebuke instead of unqualified sympathy and support.

Hastily, yours as ever,

Abby Kelly Foster.

Natick, May 8, 1863.

Every loyal woman in America has a part to perform in this great struggle for the preservation of the nation. I trust that the coming meeting in the City of New York, of women devoted to the cause of our imperiled country and to the holy cause of freedom, will inspire the women of the loyal States with new zeal and patriotism, and enable them to serve more efficiently their once prosperous, but now distracted, country.

Yours respectfully,

Mrs. Henry Wilson.

CONNECTICUT.

The Loyal Women of Manchester, Conn., to the Meeting of Loyal Women in New York, Greeting:

Patriotism in this town is high, and in the ascendant. Impelled by the conduct of traitors, dupes, and cowards, the loyal women of Manchester formed themselves into a League, in which they resolved to be unconditionally loyal to the Government and its institutions; to abhor treason and cowardice in every form, and under every disguise; to encourage and sustain our brave soldiers by constant tokens of interest; to study carefully the great principles of civil liberty, which constitute the spirit and life of our Republican Government; and to publicly wear as the badge of the Loyal League the Union colors, until the day of our national triumph. We mean by this to occupy no doubtful position, and to express ourselves in no ambiguous words. We believe in the Union, one and inseparable, and stick to the motto, "*E Pluribus Unum.*"

We find nothing to justify the rebellion in inception, much less in continuance, and have no sympathy with those who do. We long for peace, but believe in war as the only legitimate way to reach it; therefore hail the advance of our armies, and rejoice in every Union victory with unspeakable joy.

We believe, moreover, in the natural rights of man, and intend to stand by our President in his Emancipation Proclamation. We regard negro-hate and disloyalty as near akin, and feel that those who would not employ the black man to save the country are not over anxious to save it themselves.

The Loyal League of Manchester numbers some five hundred members, and we mean by all within our power to cast our influence on the side of the Union, and its brave defenders.

In true sympathy with all who stand by the Government and repel its enemies, in behalf of the Executive Committee and members,

Mrs. S. M. Dorman.

NEW YORK.

Waterloo, N. Y.

I have read Mrs. Stanton's call to the loyal women of America, and cannot resist telling you how valuable such a suggestion appears. For what is more meet, than that those upon whom fall the direct agonies of the war should with one voice cry out, "Give us a nation for whose preservation we may joyfully surrender our hearts' dearest treasure; but swear by the green graves of our slaughtered brethren, that this sacrifice shall seal the doom of every trafficker in human flesh?"

Sarah Hunt.

Utica, N. Y., April 19, 1863.

We write to assure you that we appreciate the address of Elizabeth Cady Stanton, published in *The Tribune* of the 18th. We have long expected such a call, and regard it as the external manifestation of a wide-spread demand among women.

Mary Dean, and Seven other Women.

Waterloo, May 4, 1863.

My Dear Friend:—I read with great pleasure the "Call for a Meeting of the Loyal Women of the Nation." I think such a gathering cannot fail of great and good results. I hope you will have a correct and full report of the proceedings for the benefit of those who cannot be present to see and hear for themselves.

Sincerely yours,

P. B. Dean.

Frey Chapel, May 1, 1863.

To Susan B. Anthony:

Dear Madam:—In response to the call for a meeting of the loyal women of the nation in the City of New York, on Thursday the 14th of May, the undersigned wish to be represented at the ten o'clock session.

Harriet Graham,
Emily Frey,
And 88 others.

NEW JERSEY.

Old Bridge, Middlesex County, N. J.

Mrs. E. C. Stanton:—Being unable to attend in person in answer to your stirring appeal to the loyal women of the nation, and feeling a deep interest in this cause, we cannot forbear answering it in this manner at least.

We do not believe there is a lack of enthusiasm in the mass of the women of the North; all we want is a common channel in which to pour it out. Do this, only point us the way, and you will find our efforts as irresistible as the tides of the ocean.

We believe now, if ever, Halleck's lines apply:

> "Strike, till the last armed foe expires,
> Strike, for our altars and our fires;
> Strike for the green graves of our sires,
> God, and our native land."

Hoping God may so direct you that our dear bleeding country may be cheered through the storm and darkness to a glorious peace, with our starry flag floating as of old from the Bay of Fundy to the far shores of the Pacific, and believing that freedom, truth, and right must prevail,

We are for ourselves and numerous friends,

Respectfully and truly yours,

Mary E. Disbrow,
Margaret M. Willis.

PENNSYLVANIA.

Columbia, Pa., May 8, 1863.

Susan B. Anthony:

Dear Madam:—I beg that my name may be recorded with those of the Loyal Women of the Nation. Though we walk in darkness, tears, and blood all the days of this generation, let us not shrink; we have to do the most blessed duty ever laid upon a people. Though *we* see not the end, our deed shall be blessed. Let us rejoice that upon us is laid *the glory of suffering for the good of mankind.* Though all our dearest fall, though we are wrapt in woe, let us not flinch to the bitterest end. Right shall triumph. God shall cause the wrath of man to praise Him.

Upon Northern traitors be unutterable and everlasting contempt. Highest honors, tenderest glory to our heroes, immortal in the heart of the nation.

Let my right hand forget her cunning, and my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth, if I regard not our cause above my chiefest earthly joys.

Sophia Lyman Smith.

Columbia Crossroads, Bradford co., Pa.

PENNSYLVANIA STATE NORMAL SCHOOL,
MILLERSVILLE, May 11, 1863.

TO THE NATIONAL CONVENTION OF LOYAL WOMEN:

LADIES:—I beg leave to introduce to you Miss Fannie W. Willard and Mrs. Annie V. Mumford, who have been elected by the Ladies of this Institution as delegates to represent them in your Convention.

Hoping that, by word and work, your Convention may add strength to the arm that is now raised in defense of the nation's life, I am,

Yours truly,

J. P. WICKERSHAM, Principal.

GREEN GROVE, LUZERNE CO., PA., May 8, 1863.

DEAR MADAM:—With pleasure I read the "call," and gladly would respond to it in person, but must be content with sending my name. Prospectively I see the places of meeting filled to overflowing, every eye kindling with enthusiasm, every heart swelling with patriotism, all determined to aid in preserving our sacred legacy of liberty. The woman who is not truly loyal is unworthy the protection of our dear old flag.

May God bless all the efforts made in sustaining the best government on earth! Yours sincerely,

SARAH J. VOSBURGH.

FROM THE LOYAL LADIES OF STEVENSVILLE, PA., TO THE LADIES ASSEMBLED IN CONVENTION IN NEW YORK:

DEAR SISTERS:—Although unable to co-operate with you in your noble efforts in behalf of our country by attending your Convention, we dare not remain silent when treason is in our very midst, and thousands, with blind fury, are trying to uproot the fair tree of Liberty which our fathers planted and watered with their blood. We have already sent our fathers, husbands, brothers, and sons to defend our country, and are willing to make still greater sacrifices if necessary. We heartily sustain the President in every effort he has made to put down the rebellion, and hope that the war may be prosecuted with renewed vigor, until every traitor North or South shall be subdued. We would express our sympathy for the brave soldiers in the field and for those who are languishing in prisons and hospitals, and pray that their sacrifices and sufferings may not be in vain. May the angel of Peace soon spread her wings over our unhappy country, is the prayer of your loyal sisters,

MRS. ANGIE E. L. STEVENS,
And Twenty-five other Women of Stevensville, Pa.

WEST AUBURN, PA., May 9, 1863.

In compliance with the call for a meeting of the Loyal Women, we, the undersigned, take this method to manifest our approbation of the Presi-

dent's Proclamation. Thinking we comprehend in a good degree the principles involved in the nation's struggle for existence, we believe it the duty of every loyal woman to pledge herself to co-operate in word and deed for the benefit and encouragement of our brave men in the field, until it may be truly said of our country, It is Free.

Lucy A. Seely,
And Thirty-five other Women of West Auburn, Pa.

Kennett Square, Pa.

The deep interest I feel in the subject to be considered in your Convention, prompts me to an expression of my sympathy in the movement. May you be able to speak God's truth in tones that shall arouse a nation's heart to a prompt performance of a nation's duty, will be the earnest prayer of many who are not privileged to meet with you in solemn convention.

Hannah M. Darlington.

Columbia, Pa.

Let me have the happiness of giving my name where are my heart and soul, with the loyal women of the nation.

Mrs. Frances Boardman Wells.

OHIO.

Richwood, May 9, 1863.

Susan B. Anthony:

Dear Madam:—In *The New York Tribune* of April 25, 1863, we observed that a National Convention of the Ladies' Union League is to be held in the City of New York, on the 14th day of May. We were truly gratified with this intelligence, and should be very happy to be present on that occasion; but as that is among the impossibilities, we deem it a great privilege to represent the Richwood Ladies' Union League through epistolary correspondence.

The cause is glorious, and is calculated to elevate woman to a higher sphere, and place her where God placed her in Eden, not above, not below man, but right by his side; and each, in their proper sphere, to harmonize in the great work of preserving to future generations the principles of civil and religious liberty.

Louder voices, and holier motives, urge us to duty than ever before; therefore let us seek more comprehensive views than we have hitherto possessed.

At the time *our* Ladies' Union League was organized, we knew not that there was another in the world, or that there ever would be. Its infancy was feeble, as we must advance cautiously, if we would surely; but it was as a city set on a hill. The good work is still progressing.

We wish to obtain the documents of the Ladies' National Union League, that we may be "transformed into the same image;" and also desire to wear the same *badge.*

Yours, fraternally,

MARY R. H. HAYNES,
President Richwood Ladies' Union League.

TO THE LOYAL WOMEN ASSEMBLED IN NATIONAL MEETING IN NEW YORK, THE LOYAL WOMEN OF WILMINGTON, OHIO, SEND GREETING:

We have heard your earnest call for a National Meeting of women to devise means to render further aid in relieving the wants of our noble soldiers, and our hearts respond as one to the call, and our hands willing to do more than has yet been done. Here, as everywhere in the North, we have formed societies and united our efforts in contributing what we might to soothe, encourage, and cheer. But we would not speak of what we have done, for it is but a mite compared to the need, and a drop among the millions that have been given our brave ones who are so gloriously defending our homes. But the wide future with its great destiny is before us, and we feel willing to go calmly on, patiently, even joyfully, making sacrifices, which seem as nothing compared with the object to be attained. We hope after earnest counseling you will decide what more can be done, and we will gladly work with you as sisters, as daughters of our kind All-Father, as children of our common country working for the good of all.

We shall be glad to hear of the decision of your meeting, and doubt not it will waken many who are slumbering to a sense of the duty of immediate action in a cause so just, and fraught with untold interest, not only to our own beloved country, but to the whole world.

LOUISE MCGREGOR, Secretary.

MARTINSBURG, OHIO, May 7, 1863.

TO SUSAN B. ANTHONY:—I was rejoiced and encouraged on reading your call for an assembly of the loyal women of the nation, and feel constrained to address you a word. For although I may not be able to elucidate the principles on which a free government is founded with the force and clearness of many others who will doubtless respond to your call, nor awake enthusiasm with that magic power that some of the anti-slavery women of the North possess in so high a degree, I shall at least give to Ohio and my country one more voice in favor of a united and free republic; and certainly no voice should be silent when called to speak for liberty.

It was fit that the first work of the women of the North should be for the comfort of those who are enduring the hardships of the camp, exposed to sickness, and to the deadly horrors of the battle-field, in their defense.

But this is not all that should be done by intelligent women living under a free government, when that government is in danger of being overthrown

by wicked conspirators. Every power and influence granted us under the social and political regulations of our country should be unreservedly laid upon the altar of liberty and right. It is necessary that we fully understand the nature of the conflict in which we are engaged. Enthusiasm can elevate and sustain but for a moment, unless upheld by a commensurate interest, or the power of a great principle. In this struggle we have both; and should only grow more earnest as the opposition seems to increase. Not only is our welfare as a great nation at stake, but the oppressed of the world look anxiously and hopefully to us as holding the key to their prison doors, which we may unlock if we will.

In view of the greatness of the trust committed to us, let us not as a part of the nation flag in our efforts to free our land from slavery and the rebellion, inaugurated by its minions, that they might establish it on a firmer base.

By meeting as you are about to do, and giving expression to sentiments in favor of the perpetuation of our Government, and in behalf of those of our citizens who are denied the rights and privileges of citizenship, you will strengthen the hearts and hands of all among our rulers who are endeavoring to execute judgment and justice, and to save our Government under the guidance of Him who controls the destinies of nations.

Trusting that this is but the beginning of a good work among the true women of the nation, I subscribe myself,

Yours, for the interest of our common country,

LIZZIE WELSH.

MEDINA COUNTY, OHIO, May 12, 1863.

This is no time to be idle now. Every *true woman* must be up and doing her whole duty, and we must buckle on the strong armor of Faith, and meet our enemies face to face. Let the traitors of the country hear our voice, and make the Southern tyrants tremble from their high places of ill-gotten fame. Let the prayers of the loyal women ascend to the throne on high; and I trust you may have a decidedly good meeting—one, too, that will be remembered in future ages, when war and bloodshed shall have passed for ever away, and sweet peace reigns again in our beautiful land.

We long for our brave brothers to return to their homes, but not till the Union is restored, and the traitors receive their just punishment. Again, I ask you to think kindly of my feeble thoughts. I would write more, for my heart is deeply engaged in the cause of human liberty and justice, and I have given my all in the struggle, and may have to give more. But enough.

I remain, yours respectfully,

THE OHIO GIRL (EMMA C. HARD).

INDIANA.

ANGOLA, IND., May 6, 1863.

MISS ANTHONY:

The call for a Convention in New York to express the feelings and designs of woman in view of the critical condition of the country, is exceedingly timely. I deeply regret that I cannot be present to share the inspiration of the occasion, and as far as possible to aid in making the impression worthy of the hour.

We call this an alarming crisis because it is a struggle involving life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. Our lives, our liberty, and our happiness are in danger. Perils like these can be borne with fortitude only when the expectations of a people are founded in strong historic facts.

It must be borne in mind that this nation is great not simply from the number of states it has held in union, but more from its creative genius. It numbers legion in the catalogue of its birth, while it has only a respectable number of deaths. We are told that this is the best expression of a republican form of government. It is so because it is self-sustaining, self-reliant, and therefore may be self-governing.

The stern, smooth-faced Puritan fled from religious persecution in the Old World to find room for an idea in the New; and the planting of one religious idea has yielded a rich harvest of sects, each an improvement on the last, because more accommodating to man; and all at a reasonable cost, the record of which is kept with the Quakers, the Baptists, Methodists, Unitarians, and so on through their divisions and subdivisions.

Society, at first organized in primitive style, with arbitrary laws, has sternly contested a thousand innovations, retaining the good, and scattering the useless like dust and ashes in the rear. Its central idea was also Puritanic, (as you find in "Hawthorne's Scarlet Letter,") which will ere long take its place in the dead past, giving room for the individual.

Politics, schools, trade, have been equally industrious, quarrelsome, and progressive. To-day asserting a party, a rule, a par value, which to-morrow is courageously attacked and superseded; thus deepening and widening their respective channels, as they flow on to the great ocean of Society. Yesterday politics had its center in a party; to-day, in the nation; to-morrow, it will find an equilibrium in the individual. This is stern work, wearing furrows in the cheeks of statesmen, shaking the framework of the Government, letting the blood and drinking the treasure of the nation. It cannot be avoided. God has said, "And unto you a child is born," and his name shall be called Liberty, Equality, Fraternity, the Holy of Holies, the Universal Republic. And as God rested after the first creation, so shall this nation find its Sabbath of rest when this struggle for freedom is over, and from the little child to the bowed-down man all shall breathe through the new Constitution a fresher, more glorious life.

Viewed from the daily papers, the battle is long, terrific, and uncertain. Go to the stricken hearthstones, and we exclaim, "Oh that this cup might pass from us!" Visit the solemn battle-field, and in anguish we murmur, "My God, why hast thou forsaken us?" Retiring to the high mountain of

our faith, we see in this painful view the magnitude of our cause, and that slowly but surely this contest will end triumphantly. From this point we mark the milestones that show we have made indelible footprints toward Liberty and Union.

The choice by the people of a Republican President, the firing of Sumter, the defeat at Manassas, the recognition of Hayti, the treaty with England for the suppression of the foreign slave-trade, the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, the decision of Attorney-General Bates in favor of universal citizenship, the conversion to the anti-slavery sentiment of Dickinson and Butler, the President's Proclamation, and the arming of the blacks, are signs in the political zodiac, showing our revolution certain as that of the rolling suns in the material heavens.

The true artist, who looks from man, the base, to God, the summit, sees in this mighty work contributions from the North and the South, the East and the West, as in the days of Solomon. Victory and defeat, the wrath of man and the love of country, are alike sacred in his eye, though not alike pleasurable to his sense.

In this execution, marvelous and grand, we have torn away the fibrous moorings of rebellion, and have utterly destroyed its future hope of anchorage in the heart of the nation. We have heaved the foundations of the national Government from its sunken stronghold, and placed underneath a fulcrum of power before whose breath slavery, heretofore omnipotent, shall ere long be blown as a feather in the wind. This is where we stand today; we, the people, taking breath for a more earnest struggle. We already see that we have no power to lose. In the beginning it was necessary to exhaust the expediency of the conservative, the doubts of the prejudiced, the policy of the politician, and the money in the treasury. We have waited, "patient in our misery," for this cup to pass from us! We now approach an omnipotent reality, growing out of man's existence, and controlling his destiny; a reality before which every obstacle in earth or hell must and ultimately will be ground to powder.

Only Liberty can be our watchword henceforth! To this standard alone will the country, both North and South, rally when a few more days of leadership are over. God saw to this in the framework of man and of every living thing, when He made his wants to be a blessing with freedom and a curse without it. Open the cage-door to the pining fox, loathing his master's beef and pudding, and see if his instincts are not true as the needle to the pole. Lay the sweet babe before the starved lion, and his want will not bow to your compassion. So in slaves; it matters not whether slaves to rebellion or to aristocracy. So in man, in all men, and in all women, the want of liberty, as the want of bread, is a vital principle in the blood. It is the motive power. It invites the circulation and promotes the integrity. Without it, man is but a log, and is suited to rule over frogs only; or, like the silent water, becomes a loathsome stagnation. You may suppress, but you cannot appease or destroy this divine inheritance in man. On this uniform idea the laws of society depend, and union can have no other. Raise the banner of freedom to all, and you have an imperishable constitution, supported by the gushing blood of the

millions, and immortalized in the spirit of the nation. This is our work: To comprehend liberty, to establish a constitution, and perpetuate union. We began at union, the right hand figure, borrowing ten, as in mathematics, from the next higher order, observing the rule of maintaining an equal difference by paying what is borrowed.

We saw that fighting for union and slavery left us just what we began with. So we borrowed from the Constitution Frémont's Proclamation, and carried the popular response to the next Congress, and under the second period we wrote the liberty of three millions! We have now to work out the main principle or highest order, to test the virtue of the people, to see whether, when rebellion is put down, the nation can survive; and there is now left us no escape from death or disgrace except in the announcement of freedom as a principle.

Do this, and you have enlisted new recruits from men who will nobly dare to die, but never will retreat. Do this, and the mothers of the country will continue to lay their precious sons upon the altar, not now as "Union soldiers," as before, but heroes of a new republic. Do this, and woman, the subtle architector of society, will teach you how to walk the very verge of death with an unflinching hope of life; her faith will separate your light from darkness, truth from error, liberty from slavery. She will demonstrate for you that self-reliance is the condition of all creations, that as "the flower looks to no power outside itself to unfold its tendrils and accomplish its mission," so this nation is self-sufficient. In its warm, beating heart lies its folded banner, and each man and woman must unfurl it as the seaman unfurls his sail.

Nail Freedom to your banner, and it shall bring a prostrate nation to its staff, and together with their loud applause, "the morning stars shall sing, and all the sons of God shall shout for joy."

JOSEPHINE S. GRIFFING.

TO THE MEETING OF LOYAL WOMEN TO BE HELD IN NEW YORK THE 14TH OF MAY:

MISS S. B. ANTHONY:

Not being able to attend your meeting, I desire to convey to you personally my heartfelt appreciation of your work. If, as the call implies, your object is to help create and keep alive a loyal public sentiment, it is truly praiseworthy. This is what we need—a public sentiment that will not tolerate disloyalty anywhere. We want the rebel and the rebel sympathizer to feel the society of intelligent women a constant rebuke to their unfaithfulness; we want to go still further, and make them feel that they cannot be admitted to the social circle of loyal women; we want to make them feel that we will not patronize them in business relations; in short, that we will hold no communion with them whatever, except it may be to reform them as fallen brethren. As the Spartan mothers of old, as the mothers of the Revolution, did not shrink from whatever of trial, of sacrifice, and of toil was theirs to endure, so may we of the XIXth century, the

mothers of the soldiers of freedom, grasp heroically the sword of truth, and wield it with a power that shall make the tyrant tremble. It is not enough that we scrape lint, make hospital stores, knit socks, make shirts, etc., etc.; all this we should do by all means, but we have also other duties connected with this war. Let us endeavor to perform them all faithfully. As the war is working out for woman a higher and nobler life, while it is destined in the providence of God to free the slave, it will also bring about in a great measure the enfranchisement of woman. Let us prove that women are intellectually and morally capable of laboring side by side with our brothers in the great struggle, and heaven will bless our efforts.

Yours in the great work,

MARY F. THOMAS.

Richmond, Ind., May 11, 1863.

PECOR, WABASH VALLEY, IND.

To the "Call for a meeting of the Loyal Women of the Nation," we most heartily respond. It is precisely what is needed at this time. There is a lack of enthusiasm here as elsewhere—not but our "Aid Societies" are quite flourishing. We do after the manner of the Miss Ophelia plan, "from a sense of duty."

A lady says to me, "What more can be expected of women if men fail to some extent in our military affairs?" Well, they can arouse the smoldering fires of patriotism, help to raise the trailing banner, and stand devotedly by the dear old flag. If they enter into the work heart and soul, good results will follow.

There is here a strong secession element; copperheads abound; the sky looks dark and threatening; but Gov. Morton's vigorous policy and Gen. Burnside's "Order No. 38," will show the traitors that we have a government—a strong one, too—that will bring them straight up to the mark.

Those who are disposed to criticisé your meeting, who have a word to say about women taking part in political or public affairs, should have their memories refreshed a little. From a great many who have ruled in affairs of state, I select one who lived a long time ago. The record is from the highest authority. Deborah, the wife of Lapidoth, who judged Israel, had her canopy of state under the palm-tree in Mount Ephraim. At this time the children of Egypt had been mightily oppressed for twenty years by Jabin, King of Canaan. Hope is almost extinguished in Israel; not one man scarcely seems awake to his country's wrongs; patriotism is slumbering in every manly breast, yet glows brightly in the heart of woman; and as the tribunal of judgment is deserted by manly virtue, ability, and zeal, Deborah takes the place, not by usurpation, but divine appointment. She instructs the people in the law and testimony of the living God, and inspires them with more than a common enthusiasm to go with Barak against the mighty host of Canaan. They go forth, and are victorious, completely routing the enemy. Sisera, the commander-in-chief of the great army of Jabin, is slain by the hand of woman! The mighty arm of

the Lord of Hosts is seen in the conflict, for JEHOVAH HAS NO ATTRIBUTE THAT WILL TAKE SIDES WITH THE OPPRESSOR!

Would it not be well for the women of to-day to emulate Deborah in her zeal and love of country? I trust your meeting will be productive of great good in arousing us to more correct views of our duties and responsibilities as members of the Republic. As Burke says, "*I love agitation when there is a cause for it.*" The alarm-bell which startles the inhabitants of a city from their midnight slumbers, saves them from destruction.

Truly yours, ELIZA B. TERRELL.

May 11, 1863.

E. M. WILKINSON, on behalf of the Soldiers' Aid Society in Laporte County, Ind., writes:

"We will labor with all our might, mind, and strength for a free country, where there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude. As our mothers stood by the Government in the Revolution, so we, like them, will stand by the present Administration. We believe the sin of slavery to be the cause of this horrid war, therefore we hailed with gladness the ninth section of the Confiscation law, and the Proclamation of Freedom by the President."

ILLINOIS.

ROSEMOND, CHRISTIAN COUNTY, ILL., May 5, 1863.

MRS. SUSAN B. ANTHONY:

MY DEAR CHRISTIAN FRIEND:—I observed with deep interest, in *The Independent* of April 16th, an article on "Women and the War," stating that meetings would be held in your city on the 14th of May, "to consider how women's services may be more effectually engaged in promoting the war, supporting the Government, and advancing the cause of Freedom and the Union."

At that meeting I shall be most cordially present in *spirit*, while I am necessarily in body far from you; and for the result of your deliberations there I shall watch with eager interest. *What can woman do?* has been with me from the beginning of this war a question of the uppermost importance. I have asked it with tears again and again, and have watched every intimation upon this point in our journals, and from soldier friends, with a willing heart and ready hand; though I have sometimes observed with pain, that those who had given least for this great cause were least solicitous on this question, and less disposed to do, and to continue to do, than those very ones who, as they would say, had surely done enough, when they had given up husband or son, father or brother, or all these, for the bloody conflict. But no, it is those who like me have given up their all, and perhaps like me are left by this war widowed and alone, helpless and in feeble health; such it is that cry, What can woman yet do for this

sacred cause? Such may silently bear their lonely anxiety and sorrow, patiently toil and struggle to take care of themselves, and of those dependent upon them, as best they can, uncomplaining, asking not aid or sympathy, and all the while cheering their beloved ones yet spared in the conflict, and holding up their hands by words of encouragement and blessing. But such cannot sit still, and feel that they have done enough. Such cannot look with indifference upon the still flowing tide of blood all around us; upon the thousands of hearths and homes as desolate as their own; upon the hardships and sufferings of our brave soldiers in field, or hospital, or camp; upon the hundreds of thousands of those poor freed men, women, and children, that have just begun to emerge from the house of their bondage, and come out empty, ignorant, and degraded, yet seeking liberty, protection, instruction, and offering their strong right arms for the defense of that wise and beneficent Government that has bid them go free. Ah, there *is* work for woman to do—full scope for all her powers of body and mind. And her inventive genius and sympathetic nature have already manifested themselves in many ways—providing for the wants of the sick and wounded in our hospitals—plying the busy needle day and night on useful garments—mingling a thought and a tear for the soldier in every preparation of fruit or luxury—giving time and services where they were acceptable. And still let this work go on, and never stop. But what true woman can be satisfied, without doing all she can—all she may? Ah! we cannot do less than this, and do our duty. Methinks, every mother and every teacher should now take special care to instill into the minds of those committed to their instruction a holy and devoted patriotism; the sacred principles of liberty; liberty for all; the inestimable value of our free institutions; and the perpetuation of these as an end worthy of their highest ambition. Teach them to honor the name of soldier, and to cherish sacredly the memory of those who have given their life's blood for the cementing and maintenance of this Union, and to be ready to stand up bravely for the right, when their turn may come. Teach them how God is at work in behalf of the poor and oppressed slave; how He is making the wrath of man to praise Him, and that it is an honor second to none other to be permitted to work with God.

And in this year of redemption for the down-trodden, are there not many ways in which the Christian woman can be the very handmaid of the Lord Almighty? Shall she not receive kindly these dark children who are marching forth to freedom, and prove herself their friend; instruct the ignorant; bear patiently with their awkwardness or indolence, remembering what has made them so; teach them to read, to think, how to prize and to use the blessings of liberty, and above all, how to love and serve the Lord, who hath so signally appeared in their behalf? They are to learn many things, that they may be prepared to take care of themselves, when the problem of their final disposal shall be solved. But now, during the very trial of this great experiment, is the time for woman to help, if she would not be a cipher. That their future is hidden, gives the greater opportunity for the exercise of that Christian charity of which they stand in need.

And another thing: wherever they may be congregated in any considerable numbers, let schools be established, and let the Christian woman go and teach them. Surely, she may feel that she is only following in the steps of Jesus, who delighted to bless the poor, the ignorant, the sorrowing, the despised, and to lift them up to a new life. Such will surely hear Him saying approvingly, "Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these, ye have done it unto me."

I have thought further, that woman might do much to strengthen the heart and hand of the soldier, by letters of encouragement and cheer, not only to relatives and personal friends, but to those who may have no near friends to send them a kind message. But let her, if she speaks of her own loneliness, or hardship, or trial, so speak as to show to him who is baring his breast to the foe, that she is able and willing to bear her part heroically and bravely, counting it sufficient honor for her that she may do this. And while she assures her beloved of her deep and undying affection and sympathy for him, ever growing stronger for such a separation, let it be coupled with the assurance that her prayers to God on his behalf shall cease not day or night. Some one has written:

"It is not death upon the battle-field—
It is we wives and mothers die!"

But yet there is a holy and womanly forgetfulness of self in such times as these, and let woman bear her part. Let her then write everything that is encouraging—say nothing to oppress the heart of the soldier, or to weaken his confidence in the wisdom of those who guide the affairs of this Government. Let her gently remind him of Jesus, the Great Captain of his soul's salvation, to whom he owes his first allegiance; and admonish him never to turn traitor to Him and His cause. Or, if he be a stranger to that Heavenly Friend, entreat him to enlist under that divine banner before it be too late.

And even now, while the Spirit of God is abroad in our camps and converting our soldiers, let woman labor and pray for this end. Let meetings for social prayer be organized, with these express objects, which have convened your meeting, as the burden of prayer to Him, in whose hands are the hearts of all for whom we would pray.

P. S.—If there are any suggestions in the accompanying letter which may contribute to the object in view, you are at liberty to make such use of them as you think best. I have written from the fullness of my heart, yet in much weakness and sorrow. My own beloved and noble husband was among the very first to offer his services at his country's call, and in less than one short year his sacrifice was owned of his God, to whom he had early consecrated his life, and from the strife of the battle-field (at Donelson, in February, 1862) he was called up higher to rest in peace. In feeble health, I have returned to the asylum of a father's house, to which one beloved brother has just returned with his discharge, having wasted nearly to a skeleton in Southern hospitals, and two brothers are yet in the army.

Should you have any printed circular of the result of your meetings, etc., a copy would be very gratefully received; and if there is any way in which ladies at so great a distance can co-operate with you, in measures you may devise, you may be sure this little town of Rosemond will furnish her full share of loyal women. I will almost venture to say, no other can be found here.

In behalf of all that makes our country

"The land of the free and the home of the brave,"

I am, yours very cordially,

E. P. Weeks.

Aurora, Ill., May 8, 1863.

There never was a time in the world's history when the strength and efforts of women, as well as men, were so imperatively demanded as now. Never before in the annals of time has there been a struggle of such momentous import, not only at home but abroad, as this. The eye of every principality and power on the face of the earth is upon us, anxiously watching and awaiting the success or defeat of our armies to prove or disprove the practicability of a republican form of government. Let us work for the right and true

"All we can,
Every woman, every man."

For Freedom and Union,

Ellen Beard Harman.

Washington, Tazewell County, Ill., May 12, 1863.

Ladies:—Quickened by a call from our national metropolis, and prompted by the same loyalty that issued the call, a few of the women of this place have organized themseves into a Union League, for the maintenance of our Government and the encouragement and succor of our soldiers in the field. Our organization occurred too late, we fear, to enable us to report ourselves to the National Committee at the appointed meeting; but having opened, we propose to go forward, soliciting the co-operation of every individual woman of the place, so long as our Government is in peril and rebellion utters its voice in the nation.

Yours in the same cause,

Mrs. H. N. Kellogg, Pres't.

Mrs. S. W. Fish, Sec'y.

Asbury, Lasalle County, Ill., May 3, 1863.

Madam Anthony:—I call myself a loyal woman, and am glad that there is about to be made some extra effort by woman for the strengthening and upholding of our common Government in this present rebellion. For my own

part, I should rather work hard and fare poor for a number of years, that the Government may have a share of my industry, than that we fail in this present war. Drops form the ocean; and if we all can be made to feel the greatness of small things added together, we can present a truly strengthening arm in this struggle; and I would suggest that we all lay aside our vanity and love of extravagance in dress, and save the money from some of our intended purchases for a war fund. Almost every person can spare five, ten, or twenty dollars. Let some one take the lead in every city and village by stimulating the people to a little self-denial, and I think we can raise a grand sum, to be applied where it is most needed. Just set this ball in motion in New York, and it may roll all over the North.

But I must say that I do not wonder that woman lacks enthusiasm in matters of Government, for our laws, though they may be nearly just to white men, are very oppressive to women, particularly those that deprive married women of the right to hold property and do business themselves if they like. I think that man and woman both would live more happy if the laws were more equal; but as they are, they are a shame to this enlightened age. They have been handed down from the dark ages. They make a married woman a beggar all her life, although she may have a rich husband, and a most pitiable one, if he is poor. Wipe out the law entirely that gives us a third of our husband's property; we can make better bargains than that ourselves with our husbands. The one-third law does us not a mite of good, unless our husband dies, and we do not all of us want to part with them, although the laws do make them our oppressors.

But notwithstanding the mean position that we are compelled to occupy, I feel like upholding the Government with all my might as the best that is, feeling quite sure that the kindness and good sense of our rulers will give us something a little more like justice after a while.

MARIAM H. FISH

WISCONSIN.

TO THE MEETING OF LOYAL WOMEN IN THE CITY OF NEW YORK, GREETING:

It is now nearly three months since the loyal women of Madison, Wis., desiring to express their equal interest as women in the preservation of the Union and Government, and their abhorrence of all who by word and deed encourage the unholy rebellion which has filled our land with mourning, organized the first Ladies' Union League in the country, and pledged themselves, during the continuance of the war, to such individual persistent effort and self-sacrifice as should prove to our soldiers and their families that we have made common cause with them. Without delay we issued our preamble and constitution in the form of a circular-letter, inviting the co-operation of all loyal women of the State in the formation of similar organizations. Copies of this circular, inviting a full expression of feeling, and statement of cases of individual necessity, were sent to every company

of infantry, artillery, and cavalry that have gone from the State; and the most gratifying letters from the army have proved the value which they put upon our efforts. We organized visiting committees, renewed every week, who examine into and report upon all cases of want in soldiers' families, many of whom have been cared for and relieved through the agency of these committees, thus obviating one of the most productive causes of discontent in the army. The ignorant woman who does not know what are the proper steps to take in securing her bounty, allotment, and pension; the discouraged wife who hears the low murmurs of treason to the Government on every side, and whose appeals to her soldier in the field increase when they do not create the same feeling, are alike the objects of our care.

In addition to and of more importance even than these home efforts, are those we make in encouraging the soldiers by correspondence. Does some officer distinguish himself by an act of personal bravery in the army of the West?—we save the newspaper notices, cut these out, and inclose them, with a few hearty, earnest words, to some member of the army of the Potomac, and thus become a medium for the diffusion of all that can stimulate and inspire courage and loyalty.

We have deemed this brief statement of our organization and mode of operation the best expression of our sympathy with your meeting. We joyfully hail the formation of such associations in the great centers of influence, and believe that a cause to which the women of the country as *one soul* devote their time, their energies, and all they love best, will stand vindicated as the cause of God, of justice and humanity, before the whole world.

Mrs. W. A. P. Morris, Pres't.
Mrs. E. S. Carr, Sec'y.

Madison, Wis., May 9, 1863.

Cassville, Wis., May 4, 1863.

Lately noticing in *The New York Tribune* a call for a meeting of the loyal women of this nation, and believing woman as responsible for its destiny as man, I feel it my duty to speak a word of encouragement, and make known to you my most sincere wishes for its success. As loyal women, and being under so much responsibility, it seems necessary that some effort should be made to exchange our views and form resolutions on this subject. Let us remember then our duty; let us unite ourselves by associations, that we may act in concert in our country's cause. We must not forget that knowledge is power, and that the minds of this country are molded and governed by the press; let us therefore as mothers, or heads of families, or in whatever sphere we move where our influence may be felt, aid and encourage the reading and circulation of loyal newspapers, and aid and encourage public speakers of both sexes that labor for our country (the best diplomatists of Europe have confessed that the State papers of the Revolution did almost, if not quite as much, for us as our soldiery); and let us at the same time discountenance all disloyal reading, all

disloyal sentiments, and all disloyal persons of whatever standing or relation, and let our object be our country, our whole country, and nothing but our country.

MRS. URSULA LARNED.

BARABOO, WIS., May 11, 1863.

SUSAN B. ANTHONY:

DEAR MADAM:—I cannot tell you with what joy I received through *The Anti-Slavery Standard* the account of the formation of the "Loyal Women's League of Hartford, Conn." I forthwith communicated with the women met for sanitary purposes, and we organized a "Loyal Women's League" here. Forty women signed at once, and others now are constantly added. All over this region the women seem to be waiting, longing for some soul to animate the body of work with which we have been so long and lovingly busying ourselves.

We shall do what we can to encourage and inspire our soldiers, to comfort and cheer their families, and to make our influence tell on the right side at home and wherever it is felt.

Our organization is auxiliary to the Madison League. We have adopted mainly their constitution. We would be glad to be represented in person in the National Convention, where the true woman's heart of the nation will utter itself; but this may not be so. We send you this our pledge.

The bells are ringing and guns firing for joy for our military victories. Thank God for them. But our woman's work of educating the children into the idea and practice of true and universal justice is ever to be done. Oh that we may be wise and faithful in our work, till our priceless heritage of liberty be enjoyed by every human being in our land.

Cordially yours,

MARIA P. CODDING.

IOWA.

COUNCIL BLUFFS, IOWA.

Most gladly does my heart respond to the call, and most earnestly do I hope that the deliberations on that occasion will result in much good to women and to the cause you meet to promote. The women of the North are charged by the press with a lack of zeal and enthusiasm in the war. This charge may be true to some extent. Though for the most part they are loyal to their Government, and in favor of sustaining its every measure for putting down the rebellion; yet they do not, I fear, enter fully into the spirit of the women of the Revolution. There are many women in whose hearts the love of country and of justice is strong, and who are willing to incur any loss, and make almost any sacrifice, rather than the rebellion should succeed and the chains of the bondman be more firmly rivetted. If

they manifest less enthusiasm than their patriotic brothers, it is because they have not so great opportunity for its exercise. The customs of society do not permit any strong or noisy demonstration of feeling on the part of woman; but the blood of Revolutionary sires flows as purely in her veins, and she can feel as deeply, suffer as intensely, and endure as bravely as her more favored brothers. But I would have her do more than suffer and endure; I would that she should not only resolve to stand by the Government in its work of defeating the schemes of its enemies, but that she should let her voice go forth to the Government in clear and unmistakable tones against any peace with rebels, except upon the basis of entire submission to the authority of the Government. Against the schemes and plans of the Peace party in the North, let loyal women everywhere protest.

That your deliberations may be characterized by good judgment, sound wisdom, and true patriotism, is my heartfelt prayer.

MRS. AMELIA BLOOMER.

MINNESOTA.

HOKAH, HOUSTON COUNTY, MINNESOTA, May 13, 1863.

TO SUSAN B. ANTHONY:

DEAR MADAM:—Having read in *The New York Tribune* the call for a meeting of the loyal women of the nation, I take the liberty to address you in accordance with the invitation extended to all—to respond by letter, if not in person.

While the women of the South, with a heroism and self-denial worthy a better cause, have no doubt aided in fanning the flame of rebellion, it appears to me eminently proper that the loyal women of the North should meet in council to express their sentiments in regard to the great principles of humanity and justice.

Many of us have sons and brothers in the tented field, and while we deplore the stern necessity that drew them from the endearments of home; while we tremble with anxiety lest the mournful tidings that have saddened so many hearts should fall with crushing weight on ourselves, a voice from the army comes to us with thrilling earnestness that awakens with redoubled vigor the feeling of patriotism within us.

Our noble soldiery are taking a stand on the broad platform of universal liberty and justice. With scathing words they have rebuked the traitors in our midst; and they now breathe out threatenings and slaughters to the *miscreants* who would rend the fair heritage transmitted to us by the heroes of the Revolution.

May every patriotic woman in the land do her utmost to uphold and strengthen the holy purpose that inspires the loyal heart of the army. For myself, I regard no sacrifice too great that will conduce to the comfort of the brave men who are risking life and limb in the sacred cause of freedom;

and I am proud to say that this is the sentiment of every lady within the circle of my acquaintance.

I most sincerely hope that some lady in your Convention will offer a resolution touching a great wrong that has been practiced toward our sick and wounded soldiers in some of the hospitals, namely, the neglect of the proper officers to affix their signatures to discharges made out, in many instances for a long time, until the hope of once more seeing the dear ones at home has faded from the heart of the poor soldier, and he has laid him down to die among strangers, when but for this cruel neglect his life might, perhaps, have been spared to bless the dear ones at home, or at least have given them the great boon of smoothing his passage to the grave. I believe this thing has done much to discourage enlistments. Is there no remedy? I leave it to those of more influence and superior judgment to decide.

With sentiments of respect,

I subscribe myself a loyal woman,

MARY C. POUND.

KANSAS.

QUINDARO, KANSAS, May 4, 1863.

MY DEAR MISS ANTHONY:

Your call to the loyal women of the nation meets my hearty response. I have been feeling for months that their activities, in the crisis which is upon us, should not be limited to the scraping of lint and concocting of delicacies for our brave and suffering soldiers. Women, equally with men, should address themselves to the removing of the wicked cause of all this terrible sacrifice of life and its loving, peaceful issues. It is their privilege to profit by the lessons being taught at such a fearful cost. And discerning clearly the mistakes of the past, it is their duty to apply themselves cheerfully and perseveringly to the eradication of every wrong and the restoration of every right, as affecting directly or indirectly the progress of the race toward the divine standard of human intelligence and goodness. *No sacrifice of right, no conservation of wrong*, should be the rally-call of mothers whose sons must vindicate the one and expiate the other in blood!

Negro slavery is but one of the protean forms of disfranchised humanity. Class legislation is the one great fountain of national and domestic antagonisms. Every ignoring of inherent rights, every transfer of inherent interest, from the first organization of communities, has been the license of power to robbery and murder, itself the embodiment of a thievish and murderous selfishness.

That the disfranchisement of the women of '76 destroyed the moral guarantee of a pure republic, or that their enfranchisement would early have broken the chains of the slave, I may not now discuss. Yet it may be well to note that ever since freedom and slavery joined issue in this Government, the women of the free States have been a conceded majority,

almost a unit, against slavery, as if verifying the declaration of God in the garden, "I will put enmity between thee (Satan) and the woman."

Every legal invasion of rights, forming a precedent and source of infinite series of resultant wrongs, makes it the duty of woman to persist in demanding the right, that she may abate the wrong—and first her own enfranchisement. The national life is in peril, and woman is constitutionally disabled from rushing to her country's rescue. Robbery and arson invade her home; and though man is powerless to protect, she may not save it by appeals to the ballot-box.

A hundred thousand loyal voters of Illinois are grappling with the traitors of the South. If the hundred thousand loyal women left in their homes had been armed with ballots, copperhead treason would not have wrested the influence of that State to the aid and comfort of the rebellion. If the women of Iowa had been legally empowered to meet treason at home, the wasteful expense of canvassing distant battle-fields for the soldiers' votes might have been saved. And it would have been easier for these women to vote than to pay their proportion of the tax incurred. Yankee thrift and shrewdness would have been vindicated if Connecticut had provided for the enfranchisement of her women by constitutional amendment, instead of wasting her money and butting her dignity against judicial vetoes in legislating for the absent soldiers' vote.

This war is adding a vast army of widows and orphans to this already large class of unrepresented humanity. Shall the women who have been judged worthy and capable to discharge the duties of both parents to their children, without them be longer denied the legal and political rights held necessary to the successful discharge of a part even of these duties by men?

With these few hasty suggestions, and an earnest prayer for the highest wisdom and purest love to guide and vitalize your deliberations, sisters, I bid you farewell.

C. J. H. Nichols.

OFFICERS OF THE WOMEN'S LOYAL NATIONAL LEAGUE.

PRESIDENT:

MRS. E. CADY STANTON.

VICE-PRESIDENTS:

MRS. COL. A. B. EATON.

" EDWARD S. BATES,

" MARY S. HALL.

SECRETARY:

SUSAN B. ANTHONY.

CORRESPONDING SECRETARY:

S. E. DRAPER.

TREASURER:

MRS. H. F. CONRAD.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE:

MISS MATTIE GRIFFITH,

" R. K. SHEPHERD,

MRS. B. PETERS,

" E. S. LOZIER, M.D.,

" MARY A. HALSTED,

" LAURA M. WARD, M.D.,

" MARY F. GILBERT.

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED BY THE WOMEN'S LOYAL NATIONAL LEAGUE.

At a meeting of the Women's Loyal National League, held at their Office, Room 20, Cooper Institute, May 29, the following resolutions were adopted :

Resolved, That the following be the official title and the pledge of the League—the pledge to be signed by all applicants for membership :

WOMEN'S LOYAL NATIONAL LEAGUE,

ORGANIZED IN THE CITY OF NEW YORK, MAY 14, 1863.

We, the undersigned, women of the United States, agree to become members of the Women's Loyal National League, hereby pledging our most earnest influence in support of the Government in its prosecution of the war for freedom and for the restoration of the national unity.

Resolved, That for the present this League will concentrate all its efforts upon the single object of procuring to be signed by one million women and upward, and of preparing for presentation to Congress, within the first week of its next session, a petition in the following words, to wit :

"*To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States :* The undersigned, women of the United States, above the age of eighteen years, earnestly pray that your honorable body will pass, at the earliest practicable day, an act emancipating all persons of African descent held to involuntary service or labor in the United States."

Resolved, That in furtherance of the above object the Executive Committee of this League be instructed to cause to be prepared and stereotyped a pamphlet, not exceeding four printed octavo pages, briefly and plainly setting forth the importance of such a movement at the present juncture—a copy of the said pamphlet to be placed in the hands of each person who may undertake to procure signatures to the above petition, and for such further distribution as may be ordered by the said Executive Committee.

Resolved, That to a committee of nine, to be hereafter appointed by the President and Secretary of this League, be intrusted the duty of procuring subscriptions to defray the expenses connected with the preparation, and signature, and presentation of the said petition.

JUNE 5.

Resolved, That all bills be submitted for approval to the Executive Committee, and if approved shall be certified as such by the Chairman of that Committee.

Resolved, That for the amount of each bill so approved the Secretary shall draw on the Treasurer in favor of the person presenting such bill.

JUNE 12.

Resolved, That as nearly the same labor and expense are required to obtain signatures of women alone as of both men and women, the Secretary be requested to prepare and circulate petitions for men also

JUNE 26.

Resolved, That the probable expense of preparing, circulating, and presenting our petitions, will amount to not less than one cent for each name; therefore,

Resolved, That we request those who circulate the petition, to solicit of each person signing a contribution of one cent, and forward the same with petition and signatures to our Secretary, Susan B. Anthony, Room No. 20, Cooper Institute, New York.

Resolved, That the Central League in New York will bestow their badge and membership, as a gift, upon each boy or girl, under eighteen, who shall collect and forward to them fifty or more names, and as many cents.

Resolved, also, That the Central League will bestow a handsomely bound copy of each of the celebrated and recently published works of Augustin Cochin on Slavery and Emancipation, on the person who shall collect and forward the largest number of signatures from any city of the Union having a population of twenty-five thousand; also, on the person who shall collect the largest number of names in any of the states, *outside* of said cities.

Resolved, That each lady to whom the pledge and petition blanks are inclosed be requested to bring them to the notice of the clergymen and teachers in her vicinity, with a request that they shall take some action in the matter.

Resolved, That such ladies are earnestly requested to organize Auxiliary Leagues in their towns and neighborhoods, for the purposes of correspondence with the Central League, and of collecting and forwarding with facility names and money for the furtherance of the grand object in view; also, for holding meetings to discuss and elucidate the necessity of our demand for an act of Universal Emancipation.

A hearty co-operation from our women, in all parts of the loyal States, is most earnestly invited. We would urge upon them the formation of auxiliary Leagues, which shall receive from us blanks for petitions, and pledges, as well as any information or advice they may need. We ask them not only to form Leagues in their own towns and neighborhoods, but to send us up long lists of names as members of the Grand Central League.

We beg them also to solicit and send contributions, small and large, as they may be able, for the promotion of the object of the League, viz.: to end this fearful war by the removal of its exciting cause—Slavery.

In making this call upon loyal women, we feel sure of meeting with a warm response from those whose hearts and energies have already so nobly sprung to meet their country's need in her hour of trial.

E. CADY STANTON,
Pres't of the League.

SUSAN B. ANTHONY, Sec'y.

COMMENTS OF THE PRESS.

The New York Tribune thus speaks of this enterprise:

A VAST ENTERPRISE PROPOSED BY WOMEN.

The "Women's Loyal National League," recently organized in this city, at a meeting held by them yesterday at the Cooper Institute, adopted the following resolutions:

Resolved, That for the present this League will concentrate all its efforts upon the single object of procuring to be signed by one million women and upward, and of preparing for presentation to Congress within the first week of its next session, a petition in the following words, to wit:

To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States: The undersigned, women of the United States, above the age of eighteen years, earnestly pray that your honorable body will pass, at the earliest practicable day, an act emancipating all persons of African descent held to involuntary service or labor in the United States.

Resolved, That in furtherance of the above object the Executive Committee of this League be instructed to cause to be prepared and stereotyped a pamphlet, not exceeding four printed octavo pages, briefly and plainly setting forth the importance of such a movement at the present juncture—a copy of the said pamphlet to be placed in the hands of each person who may undertake to procure signatures to the above petition, and for such further distribution as may be ordered by the said Executive Committee.

The women of the League have shown practical wisdom in restricting their efforts to one object, the most important, perhaps, which any Society can aim at; and great courage in undertaking to do what, so far as we remember, has never been done in the world before, namely, to obtain ONE MILLION of names to a petition. If they succeed, the moral influence on Congress ought and cannot fail to be great. The passage by the next Congress of an act of general emancipation would do more than any one thing for the suppression of the rebellion. As things now stand with slaves declared free in eight States of the Union, with two more States (Virginia and Louisiana) partly free and partly slave, and with the Border States still slave, we have a state of affairs resulting in interminable confusion, and which, in the very nature of things, cannot continue to exist. Congress may find a way out of such confusion by an act of Compensated Emancipation, with the consent of these States and parts of States. God speed the circulation and signatures of the Women's Petition! The pledge of the League is commendably brief and to the point, reading as follows:

"We, the undersigned, women of the United States, agree to become members of the 'Women's Loyal National League,' hereby pledging our most earnest influence in support of the Government in its prosecution of the war for freedom and for the restoration of the national unity."

The office of the League is Room No. 20, Cooper Institute. Let all loyal women, friendly to Emancipation, join their ranks, and devote what spare time they may have to this noble work.

The New York Times published the following:

A MONSTER PETITION PROPOSED.

To the Editor of The New York Times:

Until the advent of the present struggle, the word *loyally* was hardly known among us, and though we often spoke of the Union, we seldom used the term national unity. With new phases of society new terms come into vogue.

We have now, springing up everywhere, Loyal National Leagues, and great good they are doing. They have, so far, been chiefly set on foot by men, but women are now bestirring themselves in the same direction. Quite recently, a Woman's Loyal National League has been organized in this city, with the following pledge:

"We, the undersigned, women of the United States, agree to become members of the 'Women's Loyal National League,' hereby pledging our most earnest influence in support of the Government, in its prosecution of the war for liberty and for the restoration of the national unity."

Yesterday, at their weekly meeting, they passed the following resolution:

Resolved, That, for the present, this League will concentrate all its efforts upon the single object of procuring to be signed by one million of women or upward, and of preparing for presentation to Congress, a petition in the following words, to wit:

"*To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States:* The undersigned, women of the United States, above the age of eighteen years, earnestly pray that your honorable body will pass, at the earliest practicable day, an act emancipating all persons of African descent held to involuntary service or labor in the United States."

The prudence of the members of this League is to be commended, first, in selecting a single object on which to concentrate their exertions, and, secondly, in selecting as that object the procuring of an act of Congress declaring general emancipation, than which nothing is more needed at the present time, not only as an indorsement of the President's Proclamation, but also as a remedy for the utter confusion produced by the present state of affairs, under which it would puzzle the shrewdest lawyer to determine who, among the fugitives that are daily flocking to us across the lines, is free, and who still a slave. As a permanent arrangement, no one believes that a few counties in one State, and a few parishes in another, can remain slave, while all around them emancipation has been accomplished; nor that slavery can endure, except for a brief season, along a narrow border-strip, bounded North and South by freedom.

Whether these ladies will succeed in the task of procuring *one million* of names to their petition, depends chiefly on their business talent in organizing the machinery of so great an undertaking. R.

The New York Evening Post says:

AN IMPORTANT UNDERTAKING.

It has sometimes been made a reproach to the women of the Northern States, that while their sisters of the South are the very life of the rebellion, exceeding

the men in zeal and devotion and self-sacrifice, they, with a noble cause against a base one, show less zeal, less earnestness, do less to animate and inspire the combatants; in short, are less active in maintaining the Union than the ladies of the Slave States in working to destroy it.

If, however, the members of the "Women's Loyal National League," an association recently commenced in this city, succeed in what they have just undertaken, it will go far to show that there is neither lukewarmness nor lack of energy in the women of the North; and that, in practical industry exerted in aid of the war and the Government, they are not to be outmatched by the zeal of the fair mischief-makers who oppose both.

At a meeting held yesterday at the Room of the League, No. 20 Cooper Institute, the following resolutions were passed:

Resolved, That for the present this League will concentrate all its efforts upon the single object of procuring to be signed by one million women and upward, and of preparing for presentation to Congress, within the first week of its next session, a petition in the following words, to wit:

"*To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States:* The undersigned, women of the United States, above the age of eighteen years, earnestly pray that your honorable body will pass, at the earliest practicable day, an act emancipating all persons of African descent held to involuntary service or labor in the United States."

Resolved, That in furtherance of the above object, the Executive Committee of this League be instructed to cause to be prepared and stereotyped a pamphlet, not exceeding four printed octavo pages, briefly and plainly setting forth the importance of such a movement at the present juncture—a copy of the said pamphlet to be placed in the hands of each person who may undertake to procure signatures to the above petition, and for such further distribution as may be ordered by the said Executive Committee.

We learn that the League has already obtained several thousand names and addresses of persons and societies throughout the Northern and Border States who are favorable to emancipation, to whom they propose to address their circulars; and that they are organizing, after a business fashion, the machinery necessary to effect their object in the six months still intervening before the meeting of Congress. It is a great undertaking, this obtaining of one million signatures, such an undertaking as has seldom if ever been carried out before. If it succeeds, it will obtain record in the history of the time as an enterprise most honorable to the sex which conceived and completed it.

The pledge of the League is well worded and judicious, reading thus:

"We, the undersigned, women of the United States, agree to become members of the 'Women's Loyal National League,' hereby pledging our most earnest influence in support of the Government in its prosecution of the war for freedom and for the restoration of the national unity."

Such leagues ought to be, and we trust will be, organized all over the country, in aid of the mammoth petition. Without having made any accurate calculation, we doubt whether less than four stout men could carry the roll comprising a million names into the House to which it is addressed.

The Philadelphia Press says:

SPIRIT OF NORTHERN WOMEN.

It is a great country, this of ours. Great events occur in it Great things are

to be found in it. Where shall we find another Niagara? where a cave of dimensions equal to those of the Mammoth Cave of Kentucky? Since California has been added, we have her gigantic pines, towering above all other trees in the world. We cannot make war, but we must carry it on upon a scale unknown since the days of Xerxes. Our women, too, it would seem, catch the spirit of the country. Until now they have chiefly been known, throughout the great national struggle, in the capacity of Sisters of Mercy, tenders in hospitals, collectors of comforts and of little luxuries for our sick and wounded. We find them laboring now in a new field. They, called the weaker sex, and properly so called, if thews and sinews constitute strength, have undertaken to do more than to care for the sick and wounded. They seek to aid in striking at the root of the evil whence has arisen the strife which causes the sickness of the hospital and the wounds of the battle-field. They have undertaken a task beyond that which the sturdy Chartists of England performed. The Chartist Petition, if we remember aright, had seven or eight hundred thousand names—the largest number ever obtained to a petition. But our Northern women have undertaken to procure *one million* of names to a Petition for Emancipation, and to complete their task in the next six months. The article from *The Tribune* elsewhere, will be read with interest.

The National Anti-Slavery Standard comments:

THE WOMEN'S LOYAL LEAGUE.—MAMMOTH PETITION TO CONGRESS.

The Women's Loyal National League, at a meeting held at their Room in the Cooper Institute, on Friday, the 29th ult., changed the form of their pledge, so that it now reads as follows:

"We, the undersigned, women of the United States, agree to become members of the 'Women's Loyal National League,' hereby pledging our most earnest influence in support of the Government in its prosecution of the war for freedom and for the restoration of the national unity."

This, it strikes us, is a much happier wording than that of the former pledge.

The League also adopted the following resolutions:

Resolved, That for the present this League will concentrate all its efforts upon the single object of procuring to be signed by one million women and upward, and of preparing for presentation to Congress within the first week of its next session, a petition in the following words, to wit:

To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States: The undersigned, women of the United States, above the age of eighteen years, earnestly pray that your honorable body will pass, at the earliest practicable day, an act emancipating all persons of African descent held to involuntary service or labor in the United States.

Resolved, That in furtherance of the above object the Executive Committee of this League be instructed to cause to be prepared and stereotyped a pamphlet, not exceeding four printed octavo pages, briefly and plainly setting forth the importance of such a movement at the present juncture—a copy of the said pamphlet to be placed in the hands of each person who may undertake to procure signatures to the above petition, and for such further distribution as may be ordered by the said Executive Committee.

The women of the League have embarked in an enterprise worthy of their energy and devotion, and we will not allow ourselves to doubt that they will meet with complete success. It will require some money and a great deal of hard work, but

their courage and patience will be found adequate to the task. They will find a helper in every woman who loves justice and humanity, and realizes that there can be ne permanent peace for the country until slavery is exterminated root and branch. The moral influence upon Congress and the nation of such a petition, signed by a MILLION of women, will be incalculable; while the agitation attending the effort will be of the greatest benefit.

Women willing to aid in circulating the petition should send their address at once to Susan B. Anthony, Secretary of the League, 20 Cooper Institute, New York.

The Principia as follows:

The "Women' Loyal National League," recently organized in this city, at a meeting held by them at the Cooper Institute, adopted the following resolutions:

Resolved, That for the present this League will concentrate all its efforts upon the single object of procuring to be signed by one million women and upward, and of preparing for presentation to Congress within the first week of its next session, a petition in the following words, to wit:

To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States: The undersigned, women of the United States, above the age of eighteen years, earnestly pray that your honorable body will pass, at the earliest practicable day, an act emancipating all persons of African descent held to involuntary service or labor in the United States

Resolved, That in furtherance of the above object the Executive Committee of this League be instructed to cause to be prepared and stereotyped a pamphlet, not exceeding four printed octavo pages, briefly and plainly setting forth the importance of such a movement at the present juncture—a copy of the said pamphlet to be placed in the hands of each person who may undertake to procure signatures to the above petition, and for such further distribution as may be ordered by the said Executive Committee.

A noble movement. We wish and anticipate for it great success.

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